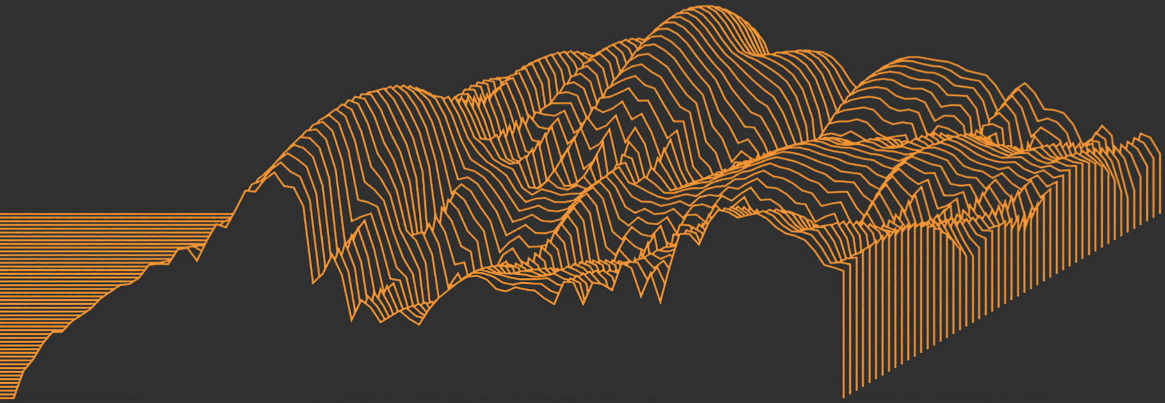
PINDAR, SONG, AND SPACE: TOWARDS A LYRIC ARCHAEOLOGY



RICHARD NEER AND LESLIE KURKE

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PINDAR, SONG, AND SPACE

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Pindar, Song, and Space

Towards a Lyric Archaeology

Richard Neer and Leslie Kurke

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Richard Neer dedicates his work on this book to Erika and Teddy, lights of his eyes, and to the Cheese Board Collective, the Peet's at Walnut and Vine, and the beacon at Point Reyes

Leslie Kurke dedicates her work on this book to Andrew, for his infinite patience with her preoccupations, and to the memory of Sam, who kept her company for most of the writing

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Towns are the illusion that things hang together somehow.

Anne Carson, “The Life of Towns”

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• • •

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In the process of writing this book, we have become newly aware of the barriers that each of our subfields sets up for the nonspecialist. Although the apparatus of Classical studies is in many ways glorious, it can also be formidable and baffling even to professionals—resulting in a low-level but pervasive disincentive to work across subfields, or even to read outside one's own area. So, while this book is unapologetically "hardcore" and makes considerable demands on readers, we have done our best to dismantle some of the more gratuitous obstacles.

We provide translations for all Greek texts cited; unless otherwise noted, translations are our own.

We have tried as much as is practicable to use author-date citations in place of idiosyncratic, field-specific abbreviations (e.g., Dittenberger and Purgold 1892 instead of *IvO*; Meiggs and Lewis 1989 instead of *GHI*^{3}). We have not entirely succeeded in this ambition, and have retained certain field-specific title or author abbreviations for textual corpora (e.g., fragments, inscriptions, papyri) and for journal titles, following the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, no. 1 (January 1991) 4–16, or of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (2012) xxvi–liii.

On the other hand, we have diverged from those guidelines by providing English (as opposed to Latin or Greek) titles for ancient works: so, for example, *Libation Bearers* rather than *Choephoroi*; *Assemblywomen* rather than *Ekklesiazousai*; *The Constitution of the Athenians* rather than *Ath. Pol.* Likewise, we have not abbreviated the names of ancient authors or the titles of their works, except in a small number of cases where the sheer frequency of citation made such abbreviation desirable:

Bacchylides	Bacch.	Pindar	
Herodotus	Hdt.	Isthmian	I.
Homer		Nemean	N.
Iliad	*Il.*	Olympian	O.
Odyssey	*Od.*	Pythian	P.
Pausanias	Paus.	Scholia	Schol.
		Thucydides	Thuc.

Greek authors are quoted from the Oxford Classical Texts series, except for the following: the early Greek lyric poets are cited from Campbell's five-volume Loeb edition (1983–92); early Greek elegiac and iambic poets from West 1989–92; Pindar from Snell and Maehler 1987 and Maehler 2001; Bacchylides from Maehler 2003; Pausanias from Rocha-Pereira 1989–90.

We have despaired of consistency in the transliteration of Greek names. For proper names, especially place names, that are already familiar in Latinate form—like Aeschylus, Athens, Corinth, Crete, Croesus, Thucydides—we have retained that spelling. But for other, lesser-known Greek figures and places, we have opted for a more Hellenizing transliteration: Achaians, Aineas, Arkadia, Klaros, Kroton, Timaios. In many cases this was a judgment call, and while we have inclined to more Latinate forms for place names (e.g., Aegina, Corcyra, Cyrene), we have opted for estrangement in the case of certain Greek personal names: so Achilleus and Hektor, rather than their more familiar Latinate versions.

For the transliteration of Greek words, we have adopted a compromise system, using *k* for *kappa*, *u* for *upsilon*, and *ch* for *chi*.

PINDAR, SONG, AND SPACE

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INTRODUCTION

The Propinquity of Things

> I am concerned here with observing how a culture experiences the propinquity of things, how it establishes the *tabula* of their relationships and the order by which they must be considered.
>
> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*

This book is about the concept and experience of space in Classical Greece. It investigates the procedures and criteria by which the Greeks understood relations of nearness and distance, "here" and "there," height and depth—and how they came to "know their way about" in three, or even four, dimensions. Its animating idea is that art, architecture, and song were crucial technologies in articulating Classical spatiality and that an attentive study of these devices can reveal a way of inhabiting the world that is substantially different from that of a modern subject. The unifying thread is the work of a single poet: Pindar of Thebes, active in the first half of the fifth century BCE. Yet the very nature of the topic makes it necessary to eschew the usual hierarchies of induction that organize cultural history in its current dispensation, by giving equal weight to literary, archaeological, and visual evidence. In studying ancient spaces, we hope to carve out a new disciplinary space as well: not an archaeology of lyric—which suggests a search for *realia* behind literary texts—but a lyric archaeology, that is, a synthesis of archaeological and epigraphic corpora with the reading habits of lyric and art history.

Pindar provides an ideal focus for such an inquiry. His poems were occasional: composed on commission for specific performance settings. But they are also, we shall argue, situational: mutually implicated with landscapes, buildings, and artifacts. Unlike his contemporary Bacchylides, Pindar makes constant reference to material culture, both real and metaphorical. He provides, thereby, an insider's take on spaces, landscapes, buildings, statues, and other *realia*. Given that firsthand accounts of beholding are notoriously scarce for this period, Pindar represents an underused resource in this regard. Yet his interest is not so much in "objects"—a distinctly modern category—as in larger relational fields, the gaps or spaces between things. As we hope to show, one element of the poet's task was to make sense of, and impose order upon, Classical Greek spaces in this sense.

The study of Pindar's relation to material culture has enjoyed a renaissance in recent years; we have benefited enormously from valuable studies by Lucia Athanassaki, David Fearn, Maria Pavlou, and others.[1] Broadly speaking, this work has tended to emphasize what the structuralists called *paradigmatic* values, seeking real-world referents for images that might otherwise seem vague or conventional. When, for example, the poet refers to architecture or the built environment, the agenda is to match his words to real buildings, places, statues, and so on—and then to reread the poem with this information in mind. Do Aeginetan odes like Olympian 8 refer to the famous pediments of the Aphaia temple? What are the mysterious *Kēlēdones* ("Charmers") of Paian 8? What does Pythian 7 tell us about the reception of the Alkmeonid temple of Apollo at Delphi? Scholarship in this vein has a natural kinship to the study of iconography in the history of art, or thematic criticism in literary studies: it excavates connotations.

We are certainly concerned with the identification of particular monuments, sites, and territories in Pindar's poems; there is plenty of that in what follows.[2] But our ultimate goal is different. In place of thematics and iconography, the present study emphasizes *syntagmatic* relations, both intra- and extratextual.[3] As Pavlou puts it, "Pindar does not merely verbalize and describe what is visually represented, but rather orchestrates his song in a way that complements the surrounding monuments."[4] Destined for performance, these poems represent practical responses to actual places and spaces in the Greek landscape: they thematize the built environment. Yet they also reflect upon that environment and, in so doing, *estrange* it: they bring out the constitutive protocols, procedures, and investments that constituted space and place in the Greek world. Only attention to such background conditions can lead to generalizations from particular cases, as one might reconstruct the grammar of a lost language from an archive of inscriptions. More than a semiology of material culture, in short, we need a rhetoric, even a poetics.

This may seem a formalism; it is not. Our goal is not to volatilize the material record of ancient Greece into so many "representations," but to develop a properly historical understanding of Greek spatiality by excavating its physical, institutional, and conceptual preconditions. What would be truly formalistic, by contrast, is a phony contextualism that treated buildings, statues, sites, and spaces as empirical data without reference to historical horizons of this sort. Terms like "object" and "site," the bread and butter of both Classical archaeology and the history of art, require estrangement as well; the Greek context requires us to rethink even the most elementary distinctions, as between stone and light, dancer and dance. Likewise, theoretical terms such as "space," "place," and "territory," while invaluable in helping to formulate questions, can provide an illusion of systematicity in the face of obdurate evidence.[5] We have tried to avoid technical vocabulary while remaining alive to the granular complexity of the corpora.

Nor is our goal the reconstruction of a first-person, "subjective" experience of Greek environments, still less the discrimination of a corporate "identity," whether ethnic or otherwise. Both are fundamentally modern, even Romantic, concerns—though it would be difficult to overstate the extent to which the sorting of putative identities has dominated our field over the past twenty-five years. That archaeology is in continuous danger of reifying identity is hardly news; part of our goal is to take the warnings seriously and reorient discussion to spatiality. Doing so does not mean rejecting earlier scholarship, but building upon it while reviewing it critically.

Here too there is precedent. Recent affective and sensory turns offer themselves as correctives to an idealization of subjects but, all too often, simply reiterate a substance dualism whereby "the body," "materiality," and "lived experience" function as putative bedrocks of authenticity.[6] Our goal, by contrast, is to elucidate the rules and protocols that made "experience" possible. Greek poetry in general is apt for such investigation because, as "measured speech," it thematizes its own rule-bound nature. Choral lyric in particular is apposite because it was danced: as "measured pace," it thematizes the rules of ambience. Not subjects, then, but tropes; not objects, but relations; not experience, but the politics and preconditions thereof.

Our project, then, is to map the dialectical interaction of song, artifacts, and spatiality. We do not take for granted the unproblematic existence of "object" and "site" and then find their reflections in Pindar's poetic language, but instead start from an analysis of the very protocols and procedures that constituted space and place in the Greek world, and that mutually inform both song and setting and their interactions. This approach "goes flat," eschewing the standard hierarchy of evidence that posits an unproblematic and inert "real world" that works of literary or visual art then reflect or coopt for their own thematic purposes. The integration of corpora and methods requires careful, sustained analysis of particulars: close attention to statues, buildings, inscriptions, and sites set together with, and against, equally close reading of poems.[7] Quantitative methods such as network analysis would be inapt to such evidence. What counts as creative data analysis in one field may be reductivism in another; the sheer diversity of evidence available to students of Classical Greece means that methods (and questions) that might be appropriate to, e.g., the archaeology of prehistoric landscapes are insufficiently granular for this circumstance.[8] If a poem is irreducible to its meter, a statue to its proportions, a treasure house to the curvature of its echinus, then peremptory quantification risks begging all the big questions. For the goal is, precisely, a historical understanding of the concepts of space and distance that quantification itself exemplifies.

The resulting lyric archaeology has three components. First, an ecumenical approach to evidence, in which multiple archives (literary, epigraphic, archaeological, art-historical) coexist. Second, an emphasis on close reading as a response to the complexity of the evidence and the questions of meaning and value that animate it. Third, an emphasis on grammars of concepts and rules of combination: the material, even *political* conditions of possibility for spatial involvement.

For all these reasons of methodology, the work of Michel Foucault is particularly important for this undertaking. Because this book concerns words and things, we take our epigraph from Foucault's *Les mots et les choses*. Writing of Borges's famous "Chinese encyclopedia," Foucault used spatial metaphors to describe conceptual relations: he spoke, for instance, of the "common ground" of concepts, "the very site on which their propinquity would be possible," "the *tabula* of their relationships and the order by which they must be considered."[9] Our gambit is to reverse the poles and see how such conceptual propinquity might cash out as, or even determine, spatial relations of nearness, distance, and so on; to attend to the real *tabulae* (or, in Greek, *pinakes*) that encoded such relations; to study the imbrication of concepts and technologies in the emergence of a notion of "common ground" that subtended both Greek song in performance and the environment of Greek cities and sanctuaries.

But there is also another level on which we need to establish "common ground"—that of disciplines and disciplinary formations. Our project is both inter- and *intra*disciplinary; we aim to interleave and set in sustained dialogue the materials and methods of ancient Greek literature and Greek art and archaeology. Much has been written recently about the proper hierarchy of these fields and their domains of evidence—linguistic and material. But we need to get beyond the implicit *paragone* that informs much of the scholarly discourse in the field of Classics and assumes a competition between words and things.[10] This competition—even divide—between domains of evidence, material and linguistic, did not pertain for Foucault, for whom all the traces of a given era participated in one "documentary mass."[11] Nor, we contend, did it pertain for the early Greeks themselves. Instead, we suggest, all of the preserved data on which we focus here constitute a common category, but one that, like Borges's list of animals, has become "unthinkable" for us. What unites a map, a statue, a poem, an altar, a temple, a road, a sanctuary? All of them, we contend, function as tools or gadgets—technologies for the organization of space and time. Our project will be to take all these gadgets apart (via formal analysis), put them back together again, and see how they work (together).

Prospectus

The argument has three parts. Taken together, they describe an itinerary through progressively larger circles or zones of space: part I is about microenvironments and localities, both archaeological and poetic; part II, about a polis and its territory (Cyrene in Libya); part III, about the transregional *kosmos* of the Deinomenid tyrants of Sicily. This arc from small to large, from relative simplicity to relative complexity, allows part I to lay out our basic claims and methods while providing a sustained case study. It thereby functions both as a self-contained "book within a book" and as a prolegomenon to the more involved and extended discussions that follow.

Of course, the devil is in the details. Chapter 1 starts with the basics. How did the Greeks represent territory? How did they measure space? What does choral lyric have to do with it? We begin prosaically, with a brief discussion of early Greek maps and metrical systems. Attention to these technologies suggests that early Greek concepts of space were very different from modern ones—yet by no means utterly alien. Maps, plans, and other top-down, diagrammatic "overviews" were all but unknown; units of linear measurement were wildly inconsistent, even improvisatory. Yet poetry has its own metrical systematicity; when correlated to ambient dancers, moving through a town, a sanctuary, or a landscape, prosody could be a tool for ordering space and time at ground level. Thus the second half of the chapter provides a detailed introduction to Pindar's choral poetry, especially his epinikia, poems written on commission to celebrate athletic victors at the panhellenic games.

Chapter 2 builds on this foundation to describe some elementary ways in which Greek sculpture articulated space. Emphasis here is on the imbrication of function and appearance: how the look of a statue was integral to its conspicuous "embedment" in a land- or cityscape. The discussion starts with single statues, including victor monuments, the genre most directly analogous to epinikion. It then works its way to groups, and culminates with a discussion of a ritual at Miletos in Ionia that combined choral lyric and sculpture in the articulation of territory. Chapter 3 offers a corresponding analysis of Pindar's own interventions, extending out from individual *agalmata* embedded in his texts to complex assemblages integrating song in performance with the ambient built environment to narrativize and expand the reach of material radiance. Chapter 4 addresses a specific locale or microterritory: a single neighborhood in the town of Athens. Pindar's fr. 75 SM, from a dithyramb for the Athenians, envisions a chorus dancing in a circle around the altar of the Twelve Gods in the city's Archaic agora: the zero milestone of the state, what the poet calls the *asteos omphalos*, or "navel of the town." Sweeping around this pivot, the song-in-motion enumerates shrines in the immediate vicinity, even as it thematizes rings and circles in its imagery and exemplifies them in its unfolding structure. By overlaying dance, trope, and composition, the poem at once formalizes its space and spatializes its form: it provides both a metrical gloss upon the polis and a three-dimensional correlative to its own language. Exactly because of the site's crucial position in the spatial regime of Athens, the net effect of this *kosmēsis* is to produce a specifically political territory, that is, a notionally bounded environment within which the citizens might "know their way about."

Part II (chapters 5 and 6) expands the horizons both temporally and spatially. Instead of a single poem in a single neighborhood, we discuss three Pythian odes composed over a twelve-year span, all for patrons from Cyrene in Libya. These poems represent very different political and ideological interests: variously, an assertive aristocrat, Telesikrates, son of Karneiadas (P.9); the ruling monarch, Arkesilas IV (P.5); and Damophilos, an exiled nobleman currying favor with the king (P.4). Each poem provides a different, and highly tendentious, ethnopolitical aetiology for the polis—a diverse state comprising Dorians from Thera and the Peloponnese, Ionians from the Aegean isles, and Libyans, in which intermarriage was commonplace. Each poem prioritizes different places within the city and the region, and articulates a different conceptual schema for making sense of town and country. Read one against the other, the poems provide a matrix for grasping the topography of Cyrene itself: the layout of its agora (which Pindar himself describes); the placement of its major sanctuaries; the organization of its land allotments and tombs; even the patterns of its sculptural dedications at home and abroad. No longer, however, is there a literal axis around which to organize this space, as the altar of the Twelve organized Athens. Instead, Pindar *relativizes* his reference frame, eventually imagining a bird's-eye view of the entire region from the floating, yet temporally extended, "hereditary eye" of Arkesilas himself. The site is ungrounded: a function of the diverse populations that inhabit it, their separate but intertwined histories, and the governmental system that tries to hold them together. Performance, the ambient chorus singing the city, concretizes these metaphors even as it abstracts the built environment into structures of tropes. Bodies and populations—kings and choruses—are, in Pindar's Libya, literally *pivotal*, in the sense that they, and not any zero milestone, provide the basic point of reference for navigating the region.

Part III (chapters 7 and 8) expands the compass even further. The Deinomenid tyrants of Sicily envision a completely different mode of political spatiality, one in which territory is secondary and space endlessly labile. As in Foucault's model of "pastoral power," the Deinomenids shepherd whole populations, sculpting and resculpting the territory and cities of eastern Sicily. We read Pindar's Olympian 6 together with Deinomenid dedications at the panhellenic centers for how they register and help construct this new deterritorialized mode of political spatiality. The dedicatory inscriptions of the Deinomenids and their henchmen proliferate, play with, and thereby ironize local identities, making them all relative to the focal point and gravitational center of the tyrant himself. Olympian 6 operates in similar ways, establishing new relations of propinquity and distance at an unprecedented scale. This ode maps out in song the monuments of the Altis and their interrelations, even as it sutures together Arkadia, Olympia, and the Greek West. It thereby makes this far-flung network of places available for audiences all over the Greek world in performance and reperformance, while it also (like the dedicatory inscriptions) transforms Hieron into the zero milestone or gravitational center of this tyrannic *oikoumenē*.

A brief coda concludes the discussion, suggesting some ways forward for future research. In place of a tradition of historicist *Altertumswissenschaft*, we need a new disciplinary holism: a mixing of archaeological, philological, epigraphical, and art-historical archives. The shift from iconography and thematics to relations and rules, from identity to spatiality, artworks to environments, means that the discipline can no longer afford to silo its archives. We need to set our "well-wrought urns" alongside potsherds and tomb assemblages, not because archaeological data are superior but because the juxtaposition makes new research questions possible. In an era of hyperspecialization and shrinking departments, this imperative is both practical and principled.

The appendix discusses the date of the porch of the Geloan treasury at Olympia—a point of relevance to part III. Although Wilhelm Dörpfeld initially dated the porch to the 470s BCE—hence to the Deinomenid period—more recent scholarship has favored a date of ca. 500 BCE. We argue that Dörpfeld was correct, based on numerous points of comparison with Sicilian architecture produced in the aftermath of the battle of Himera in 480 BCE, notably the profiles of the column capitals and the presence of angle contraction. This discussion is technical, hence out of place in the main body of part III; we believe, moreover, that our broader argument, suitably modified, stands even if this redating is not accepted.

• • •

This book is the product of conversations and sustained discussion over the last twenty-odd years, to the point that it is impossible to know where one author's ideas begin and the other's end. Although Neer tended to focus on the art and archaeology, Kurke on the poetry, there was no strict division of labor, especially in the conceptual work. On the contrary, our day-to-day procedure was consonant with our ambition to overcome disciplinary distinctions between art history, philology, archaeology, and criticism. We read and looked together in libraries, classrooms, museums, and sanctuaries. Pindar wrote for groups, not soloists, and our communal effort—hitched, as it were, to the same chariot in a pleasant *sunōris*—befits, we hope, a study of chorusing voices *in situ*.

Part I
Orientations and Local Spaces

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CHAPTER ONE

Two Spatial Technologies

The Map and the Chorus

> This was our paradox: no course of action could be determined by a rule, because any course of action can be made out to accord with the rule.
>
> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* §I.201

Space is literally an infinite topic; even to call it a "topic" may beg some questions, as the very term presupposes a concept of *topos*, or "place."[1] Any boundaries we draw are apt to be impositions, yet some basic orientation is necessary. To that end, it seems prudent to start with procedures rather than philosophies: practical technologies of mapping and metrology reveal preconceptions that may not receive explicit formulation elsewhere. In order to situate Pindar, we need to know how the early Greeks measured space, mapped it, quantified it; we need to know how *geōmetria*, or "earth measurement," related to other modes of description and depiction, both visual and verbal. The present chapter begins, therefore, with a review of these technologies as they developed in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Archaic and Classical Greeks inhabited a "hodological" world: maps and plans were all but unknown, and travel proceeded by landmarks and ground- or sea-level views.[2] More profoundly, metrological systems did not meet modern criteria of consistency and cogency, which suggests that the operative concepts of distance, scale, and measurement must have differed as well. In this situation, we need to be open-minded about precisely those geometrical and metrological concepts that might seem most inimical to the methods of humanistic inquiry. *Space is historical, too*—which means that we need to expand our own horizons.

From maps and meters we then shift to another technology, one not usually considered spatial: choral lyric. This genre turns out to be a remarkably subtle tool for articulating space and time. Dance may unite the two, but for our purposes what matters is the distinctive way in which Pindar responds to the exigencies of genre and occasion—in a word, his style. Involuted and recursive, replete with formal patterning and cross-referencing across lines and stanzas, Pindar's poetry demands a continuous awareness of spatial and temporal relations both intra- and extratextual. Part of our goal is to provide a "user's guide" to this device and to be as clear as possible about our own understanding of what Pindar and his contemporaries were up to. Nearly every feature of choral lyric and its performance context is controversial, so we nail our colors to the mast on topics such as social function, performance, reperformance, deictics, and geographical thematics. Specialists in Pindarica will want to know where we stand; nonspecialists will need to know epinikion's place in both literary and social contexts.

It may seem perverse to begin a book on Pindar with discussion of maps and meter sticks—or, for that matter, to begin a book on Classical landscapes and territories with a discussion of lyric genre. Our goal, however, is not to *dis*orient but to *re*orient. These corpora not only can but must go together; any sense of strangeness to their juxtaposition can only be the result of a disciplinary segregation of literary, historical, archaeological, and art-historical subfields. Specialization has its joys, but it comes at a cost that we are increasingly unwilling to pay. The sheer difficulty of Pindar's Greek only exacerbates this situation: it is easy to get lost in these lines, to get stuck, like the baby Iamos in Olympian 6, in a "limitless thicket" or "boundless brake" of reading. Iamos, however, eventually extricated himself from the weeds and waded into the Alpheios stream, the better to make his way to Olympia—and we have, quite literally, followed in his footsteps.

It would be disingenuous to pretend that this approach does not diverge from some tendencies in recent work on Greek spatiality and Greek poetry. Characteristic of the former is a recurrent invocation of something called "lived" (or "embodied") experience as a foil to mathematics, theory, and other bloodless abstractions.[3] This antithesis is a commonplace of recent affective, spatial, and sensory "turns." We shall argue, however, that the resulting scholarship (in Classics at any rate) risks idealizing number and theoretical cognition in an almost Pythagorean manner, even as it downplays or ignores issues of politics and power—an essentially precritical, even reactionary move.[4] The requisite counterpart in literary study is a certain mandarinism or preciosity in criticism, an exhortation to "just read the poem," as though it were a suprahistorical object and not, precisely, an artifact, like a well-wrought urn. Superficially opposed to one another, these two tendencies in fact share the same dichotomy. By contrast, we are after both an aesthetics and a politics of space in and through historical criticism, a close reading of songs and sites in their mutual articulation. To that end, we acknowledge no useful distinction between the historical criticism of art and literature, on the one hand, and the techniques of excavation, epigraphy, and historiography, on the other. Lively interest in materiality is hollow if it involves no real worldly things, landscapes, artifacts; lively interest in artifacts need not come at the expense of attention to their particularities.

The Map

To study Greek spatial constructions, an obvious starting point is to get ahold of a map. As Pietro Janni has emphasized, however, there is surprisingly little evidence for the very existence of maps—or, for that matter, of architectural plans—in early Greece.[5] What evidence does exist is exclusively literary. Homer describes a synoptic visualization of the known world on the shield of Achilleus (*Il.* 18.478-608), but the earliest evidence for maps in anything like the modern sense consists in descriptions of experimental devices that the philosopher Anaximander and the historian Hekataios produced in Miletos in the later sixth century. These early world pictures are aptly called *periodoi* (περίοδοι), "circuits," or *perimetra* (περιμέτρα), "perimeters": in each case, a bounding circle establishes a limit within which relations of distance take diagrammatic form (fig. 1.1).[6] In Homer, the circuit corresponds to the rim of the shield; in Anaximander, to the edge of a column drum, on which the map is drawn; in Hekataios, to a simple graphic line (fig. 1.2). All three identify this limit with Ocean, a real terrestrial limit corresponding to the edge of the map.

Herodotus criticized this practice and, in so doing, described the operative technology: "And I laugh to see how many have up until now drawn maps, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the stream of Ocean around an earth that is circular, as if drawn with a compass, and they make Asia equal to Europe" (γελῶ δὲ ὁρῶν γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἐχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἳ Ὠκεανόν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν, ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην, Hdt. 4.36.2).[7] About a century later, Aristotle voiced the same complaint: "Wherefore the way in which present maps of the earth are drawn is laughable; for they draw the inhabited world as circular, which is impossible according to both phenomena and reason" (Διὸ καὶ γελοίως γράφουσι νῦν τὰς περιόδους τῆς γῆς· γράφουσι γὰρ κυκλοτερῆ τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον κατά

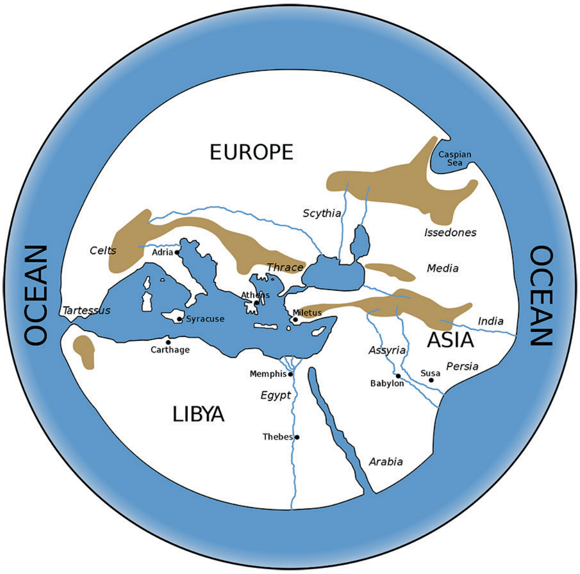

EUROPE
Caspian Sea
Scythia
Issedones
Celts
Adria
Thrace
Media
OCEAN
OCEAN
Athens
Tartessus
Syracuse
Miletus
India
ASIA
Carthage
Assyria
Persia
Memphis
Susa
Babylon
Egypt
LIBYA
Thebes
Arabia

Fig. 1.1. Reconstruction of an early Greek perimeter map. Drawing by Bibi Saint-Pol.

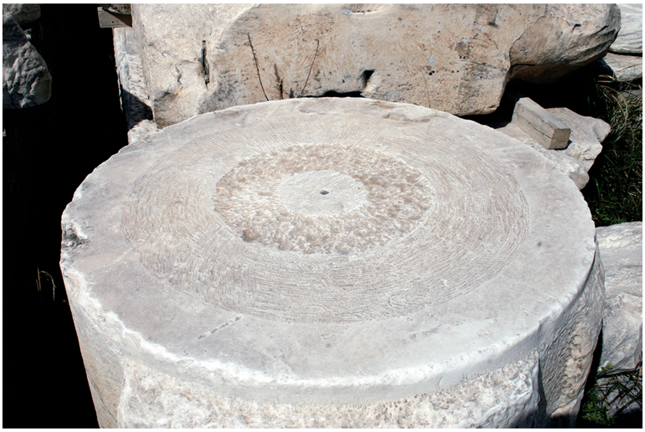


Fig. 1.2. Athens, Acropolis: column drum of the Older Parthenon. Marble, ca. 480 BCE. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

τε τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον).[8] "Periodic" cartography seems to have involved a compass or *tornos* (τόρνος), literally a "peg," to which one would tie a length of string in order to describe a "circle of position," that is, an extension defined by the sweep of the string around the pivot.[9] Within this circle, mapping proceeded as the progressive subdivision of boundaries.

Thus Aristophanes, in *Clouds* (202–17), indicates that reading a *periodos* was a matter of recognizing shapes: Strepsiades can recognize Euboia on a map because it is “stretched out” before him (παρατέταται). Herodotus, similarly, refers to mapping with the verb *diorizō* (διορίζω), “to draw a line through” (4.42.1).[10] At each level, from the perimeter to the delineation of territories, the boundary line—the *peras* (πέρας) or *perigraphē* (περιγραφή)—was primary. In short, the peg-and-compass was a *cadastral* technology, a matter of fixing limits and relating them to one another.

Periodic maps tended to absolutize both the *tornos* and the circle of position by identifying them with fixed geographic features. On the earliest Greek maps, as we have seen, the circumference, or circle of position, corresponded to Ocean, while the axial “peg” was probably Delphi, the navel of the earth.[11] This absolutism led inevitably to error and false symmetry relative to observable geographic features and practical navigation. Herodotus, for instance, singled out the a priori limitation of the periodic map for particular criticism: a long digression on the history of exploration attacked the very idea of an encircling Ocean and, more specifically, the notion that Ocean is everywhere equidistant from a central point in the Mediterranean (4.42–45). The case of Europe was so conclusive that Herodotus adduced it twice: “But of Europe,” he wrote, “it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is flowed all around by seas”; again a few lines later, “But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether or not it be flowed all around by seas” (Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκομένη . . . εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστί. . . . ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, Hdt. 4.45.1, 4). The compass-drawn limit was, for Herodotus, an artifact of the technology: the *periodos*, by its very nature, gave the continents a symmetry that did not correspond to “what is” (τὸ ἐόν, 5.50.2).

Herodotus proposed a different kind of limit: not physical but epistemological. As James Romm puts it, the historian divided his conceptual map into “an inner and an outer space based not on the physical boundary between earth and sea . . . but on the presence of human inhabitants and the resulting availability of eyewitness information.”[12] In effect, the historian’s topic of investigation was not *gē* (γῆ), the *earth* in its spatial extension, but *oikoumenē* (οἰκουμένη), the inhabited *world* in its availability to inquiry.[13] The edge of the world, for Herodotus, was not a physical limit but an “event horizon,” a line where information ceased. That horizon, however, was not necessarily circular, still less immutable; the pivot disappears entirely, replaced by the ambient *histor* who gathers information. Herodotus therefore rejected the compass twice over: once because it was wrong relative to the observed dispositions of Europe and Asia (imposing false symmetry on the landscape), and once because it was inapt to his needs (casting the horizon in terms of distance, not data).

Yet the Greeks were perfectly capable of distinguishing between an apparatus and its application: between the use of the *tornos* as a device for establishing an *absolute* limit and its use for establishing a *relative* one. In practice, the "peg" did not have to correspond to Delphi, nor the limit either to Ocean or an event horizon; you could plant your peg anywhere and draw a more or less arbitrary circle. Thus Xenophon, like a modern-day Bostonian, regarded his own hometown as the Hub of the Universe:

> Οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως δέ τις οἰηθείη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν τινες πλέον ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ ψύχεσιν ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ὁπόσοι τ' ἂν αὖ βουληθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἔσχατα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὗτοι ὥσπερ κύκλου τόρνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ παραπλέουσιν ἢ παρέρχονται.
>
> One might not unreasonably suppose that the city [of Athens] lies at the midpoint of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with; and every traveler who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the peg (*tornos*) of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road. (Xenophon, *Ways and Means* 1.6–7, trans. E. C. Marchant, modified)[14]

Xenophon was speaking hypothetically, but he could at least imagine a map that took Athens, not Delphi, as its pivot. Although the "peg" represented a fixed and absolute point of reference relative to any given map, it could be a mobile and ad hoc one relative to the earth itself; Xenophon, naturally, made no mention either of Ocean or of an event horizon, exactly because the limit of his circle was self-evidently arbitrary.

Aristotle in his *Meteorology* was even more explicit. He described the position of the different winds by means of a diagram (ὑπογραφή).

> Δεῖ δὲ περὶ τῆς θέσεως ἅμα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς θεωρεῖν. γέγραπται μὲν οὖν, τοῦ μᾶλλον εὐσήμως ἔχειν, ὁ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος κύκλος· διὸ καὶ στρογγύλος. δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ ἕτερον ἔκτμημα τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκούμενον· ἔσται γὰρ κἀκεῖνο διελεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

> The treatment of their [the winds’] position must be followed with the help of the diagram. For the sake of clarity we have drawn the circle of the horizon; that is why our figure is circular. And it must be supposed to represent the section of the earth’s surface in which we live; *for the other section could be divided in a similar way.* (Aristotle, *Meteorology* 363a27–b12, trans. Lee; italics added)

Aristotle’s circle describes merely “the section of the earth’s surface in which we live” (τὸ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν οἰκούμενον), literally “the part inhabited by us,” while other sections could be mapped in the same fashion.[15] Once again, the circle is a merely ad hoc frame of reference; its pivot does not correspond to the navel of the earth, but to wherever it is that we happen to stand. That Aristotle could employ this figure while criticizing the use of the *tornos* to generate maps shows that his problem was not with the apparatus itself, but with the absolutization of the perimeter, its conflation with Ocean and the edge of the earth. In this sense, the *tornos* is a technological analogue to the civic hearth as described by Louis Gernet: “Men set it up as they see fit; it is a mathematical arrangement of a territory which could quite well be anywhere; the center is arbitrary, even theoretical; [it] can be moved at will.”[16]

To summarize, the difference between Anaximander and Hekataios on the one hand, and Xenophon and Aristotle on the other, consists in the status accorded the circle of position—the bounding line described by the length of string that sweeps around the *tornos*. For the former pair, the circle was absolute, the graphic analogue to an Ocean that really, truly did encircle the earth. For the latter, it was relative, corresponding either to the edge of the inhabited world or to an ad hoc frame of reference: as a sophist might have put it, ἄνθρωπος μέτρον, “man is the measure.”[17] Herodotus, lastly, had other concerns: his limit was neither arbitrary nor terrestrial but procedural—a horizon of information—for which both a *tornos* and a *gnōmōn* were simply inapt. Although the situation changed in the late fourth century, when the Macedonian conquest transformed the Greek world in every sense, our focus is resolutely on the Archaic and Classical periods, sticking as closely to Pindar as possible.

Aristagoras, Space, and Time

Accounts of early Greek maps standardly contrast “periodic” visualization to verbal description.[18] Herodotus is explicit on this score. Immediately after his critique of the *periodoi*, he announces his own alternative: "For myself, I will briefly clarify the extent of each [Europe and Asia], *and how each should be drawn*" (ἐν ὀλίγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἑκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἵη τίς ἐστι ἐς γραφὴν ἑκάστη, Hdt. 4.36.2). The historian's brief clarification (verb δηλόω, "to make visible") is implicitly superior to the *tornos*, not just for knowing the lay of the land but for drawing it as well. Words, not compasses, should be the basis of graphic visualization.

The crux of this distinction is the story of how, in 499 BCE, the tyrant Aristagoras of Miletos tried to convince King Kleomenes of Sparta to make war upon the Persians (5.49–50).[19] Aristagoras used a metal plate (pinax) engraved with some sort of map to show the sequence of lands between Ionia and Persia, over which the Spartan army would have to travel; when Kleomenes learned that the distance corresponded to "a road of three moons" (τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδόν, 5.50.3), he dismissed the request. The story leads Herodotus to offer his own, verbal account (logos) of the Persian Royal Road, in which the nature of the journey is "clear."[20] This section reads as a parable of the opposition of map to discourse, pinax to logos. Scholarly opinion is virtually unanimous that Herodotus condemns the former and extols the latter—which corresponds to his own *historiē*. In what does the difference consist?

It has proved tempting to draw the distinction in terms of narrative time. David Branscome and others, for instance, have argued that Aristagoras's map encodes extension but obscures duration.[21] Kleomenes, in fact, probes Aristagoras in just these terms: he does not ask *how far* the King is from the sea but *how long* it takes to reach him. The historian's own narrative, a discursive journey up the Royal Road, is then said to redeem this defect by encoding both time and space in the unfolding of an itinerary. In this spirit, Christian Jacob asserts that the allegedly instantaneous grasp of the pictorial diagram occludes the temporal duration of the journey: "The miniaturization of space . . . tends to demonstrate that an expedition crossing Asia Minor is as simple and as quick as the movement of the eye or the finger over the map."[22] Alex Purves goes further: "As the compass and the counting out of measures replaces the body as the primary point of reference, the map loses its human perspective and its basis in experienced or 'lived-in' reality, and thereby also loses its connection to place."[23] Instants replace duration: "The map . . . virtually erases the passage of time by the unbroken contiguity of its regions, as well as by the single instant within which the surveyor's glance crosses from one given place to another."[24] Or as Elton Barker, Stefan Bouzarovski, Leif Isaksen, and Chris Pelling put it, in a programmatic statement, "Where Aristagoras's engraving presents an abstract product of contemplation, Herodotus's text represents the idea of space as *something lived*."[25] The result is a contrast between two opposed ways of thinking about space: the technologically motivated, regularizing, synoptic or bird's-eye view of the map and the embodied, durational view of the itinerary and of discursive narration. The two contrast as visual to verbal or, in terms of discipline, art history to philology. Onto an opposition of graphic and verbal in terms of duration, redolent of Lessing's *Laocöon*, these readings graft a modernist opposition of absolute and phenomenological space, technology and "lived experience."

If only it were that simple. There is indeed a contrast between Herodotean narrative and Milesian cartography, but it can have nothing to do with time, still less with "lived experience" or lack thereof. So far from providing an alternative to an Archaic *Zeit des Weltbildes*, Herodotus does something close to the opposite. His presentation of Aristagoras's map, as we shall see, *presupposes* the very "embodied experience" it is said to occlude; conversely, Herodotean temporality and narrative are *functions of* the very cartography they are said to critique. The distinction between "abstract" and "lived," between "the body" and "the compass and the counting," is untenable.

Modern readers tend to assume that any map must be scaled to linear distance, or what Herodotus called *mēkos* (μῆκος), "length."[26] Extension across the surface of such a map corresponds to extension across the surface of the earth; the rule or algorithm for determining this correspondence is the "scale" (a highly problematic concept for our period, as we shall see).[27] Herodotus's objection to the compass-drawn *periodos* addresses just this feature. To make Europe and Asia the same size on the map, he reasons, is to imply that they have the same linear extension on the ground; since that is not the case, the map is wrong.

Yet not all distance is linear. One important alternative is itinerant distance, which tracks the time it takes to get from A to B, as opposed to the length of a line that connects them. Twenty-first-century Americans routinely describe air travel in these terms: it is about four hours by plane from Chicago to San Francisco, but how many miles? Herodotus, likewise, says things like, "It is a thirty-days' road for an unburdened man from Lake Maiotis to the River Phasis and the Colchians, and from the Colchian land it is not much more to cross into Media" (ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς

Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, 1.104.1, trans. Godley).[28] More importantly, the Persian Empire standardly employed itinerant measures. The Persians measured distances in terms of the stathmos and the parasang: the former corresponds to a day's march, the latter is an opaque term that counts either in terms of hours or rest stops.[29] Both measures, accordingly, formulate distance in terms of time and stamina. It is in these units that Herodotus and, later, Xenophon describe distances in Persian territory.

Because Aristagoras's map encoded distances in the Persian Empire, it will have had to start from *Persian* units of measure: stathmoi and parasangs.[30] This point holds even if the map was Herodotus's own invention. Since there is no evidence that the historian had any independent means to gauge distances in the Persian Empire, he must have obtained information from sources that will have reported in Persian units. Regardless of whether the map of Aristagoras was a real historical artifact or a fiction, therefore, the information it encoded, or was imagined to encode, must have come from Persian, not Greek, sources, hence must have originated in Persian, not Greek, units. It follows that Herodotus's conception of how to get from Ionia to Susa will have incorporated itinerant distance at some level.[31]

It is perfectly possible to scale a map to itinerant distance. In 1973, for instance, the designer Sugiura Kohei produced an influential map of Japan scaled to travel times from Tokyo. More recently, Vincent Meertens adapted the idea to create a dynamic, isochronic map of the Netherlands (fig. 1.3).[32] Yet itinerant distance can interact with linear in subtler ways as well. Pietro Janni has shown, for instance, how itineraries affected understandings of the geography of Sicily.[33] Although there was universal recognition that the island had three points, its orientation was another matter. Lilybaeum, for instance, is at the northwest corner of the island, but Strabo puts it on the southwest, "next to Libya, looking towards it and at the same time towards the winter sunset" (ἡ προσεχὴς τῇ Λιβύῃ, βλέπουσα πρὸς ταύτην ἅμα καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν δύσιν, Strabo 2.1). Just so, he says that Cape Pachynus, at the southeast corner, faces the Peloponnese, which is really to the northeast. In these cases, the geographer bases proximity and orientation on what he calls the πόρος, the "passage": Lilybaeum is next to Libya because it is the staging post for a North African crossing; Pachynus faces the Peloponnese for the same reason. Janni stresses, however, that the dis-

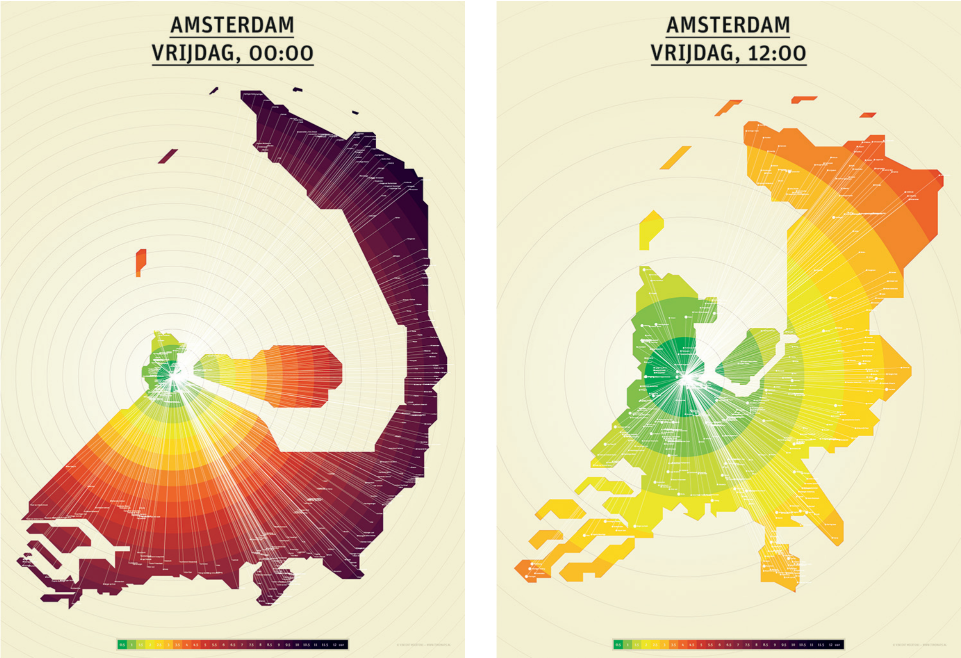


Fig. 1.3. Map of the Netherlands scaled to travel times from Amsterdam on Fridays at midnight (*left*) and noon (*right*). Image © Vincent Meertens, used by kind permission (http://www.vincentmeertens.com/project/timemaps/).

tinction between hodological and cartographic spatiality, between navigation by landmarks and navigation by maps, is not absolute but heuristic: there is no purity, no wholly cartographic or wholly hodological world, but shades and spectra of difference.[34] Strabo's "passages," accordingly, do not simply do away with concepts of linear distance: they distort or "warp" them in such a way as to rotate Sicily counterclockwise by about 45° relative to a modern perspective. The procedures by which Strabo determines the correct application of concepts like propinquity and orientation (as in "next to Libya" or "facing the Peloponnese") differ in small but significant ways from those a twenty-first-century postindustrial traveler might employ—which means that the concepts differ, too.

And Aristagoras? The fact is that we do not know the scale of his map, or even if it had any consistent scale at all.[35] We do not know what Herodotus had in mind, and the whole account is vague and probably fictional.[36] Fortunately, it is not necessary to specify this point, any more than we need to specify whether the map was real. However it coded information, or was imagined to do so, it *must* have encoded time at some remove—for as we have seen, the very concept of distance, in a Persian context, incorporated the fourth dimension. In short, the map cannot have been in any sense antithetical to time. In a world of stathmoi and parasangs, any map will necessarily have been a device for visualizing the relation of time and space: that is simply what those units of measurement are for. We might think of such a map as a kind of gadget, like a slide rule or a protractor, that visualizes information about travel times by converting it into a graphic analogue wherein relations of space encode relations of time.

It is telling that in Herodotus's story both Kleomenes and Aristagoras put the map to just this purpose. On the one hand, the Milesian by no means tries to conceal the temporal; Herodotus even suggests that his honesty in this regard is his undoing (5.50.2). His deception consists, rather, in emphasizing the easy plunder that awaits an invader: as he traces the itinerary from coast to King, Aristagoras includes parenthetical remarks about the piles of booty to be had at every stage ("gold and silver and bronze and embroidered clothing and draught animals and slaves"), along with patent absurdities like the notion that the Persians, whose armies have conquered the known world, will be easy pickings because they wear trousers (5.49.4).[37] On the other hand, the interview concludes when Aristagoras confesses that the distance from the Ionians to the King is "a road of three moons." Yet there is no reason to suppose that the map had in some way *concealed* this information: on the contrary, this way of gauging the Royal Road is wholly appropriate to Persian metrology. To be sure, Kleomenes does not know how to read the map properly; he needs Aristagoras to parse it for him and convert the road into moons. As Carolyn Dewald has argued, however, that issue is one of competence or literacy, in which there is no contrast with written discourse.[38] Aristagoras's map is deceptive, in short, only if one is ignorant of the way it encodes space and time. You have to know the scale, much as to read the fifth scroll of the *Histories* you have to know Greek.

But there is more. Having extracted the map's information—the fourth dimension—Kleomenes is explicit that it *trounces* words: in light of the new reading, he announces, Aristagoras's speech (λόγος) can never be "melodious" or "well-spoken" (εὐεπέα) to the Lakedaimonians (5.50.3). He then imposes, fittingly, a *temporal* limit on the Milesian's visit to Sparta, ordering him to clear out of town before the setting of the sun (πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου, 5.50.3). The map, in short, needs to be understood not in geometric terms but in astronomical ones: not in terms of the relation of visual representation to linear distance but in terms of the relation of visual representation to time, calculated in good Greek fashion in terms of the phases of the moon (months) and the passage of the sun (days).

Rubber Rulers and the History of Concepts

It may be objected that Herodotus himself provides an algorithm to translate the parasang into units of linear distance: "a parasang," he says, "is equivalent to 30 stadia" (δύναται δὲ ὁ μὲν παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, 2.6.3; cf. 5.53). Surely the historian, at least, considered it a unit of linear distance—which means that, rightly or wrongly, he must have imagined Aristagoras's map in such terms as well. But that conclusion would be precipitous. In fact, Herodotus's conversion formula takes us into even deeper waters. For the historian is, like other Greeks of his day, utterly inconsistent in the length he attributes to a stadion; worse, he is inconsistent in his application of the term parasang as well.[39] This inconsistency means that it is not self-evident just what this algorithm was supposed to accomplish. It raises, in fact, a basic question: what was linear distance, what was μῆκος, in Herodotus's day?

It cannot be stressed enough that the Archaic and Classical Greeks lacked any consistent unit of linear distance. Although metrological standards did exist, their application seems to have been restricted to local reference frames.[40] The basic unit, the stadion, was exceedingly elastic: its length could vary by as much as 40% from town to town.[41] Herodotus and Thucydides are inconsistent, both internally and relative to one another, in the length that each attributes to the unit, as we can tell by comparing the measurements they provide for distances between known points.[42] Similar internal inconsistencies bedevil both of the so-called metrological reliefs to survive from Greek antiquity: one, in Oxford, of fifth-century date and one, in Piraeus, of Hellenistic (fig. 1.4).[43] So far from testifying to fixed values for measurements of length, they too are inconsistent both internally and relative to each other.[44] The Oxford relief, in particular, seems almost certainly to have been decorative, not functional—unless its functionality did not require either precision or consistency![45]

Monumental building is illustrative: although Greek architects were capable of the most exquisite refinements of proportion and curvature, historians seek in vain for any consistent unit subtending more than one or

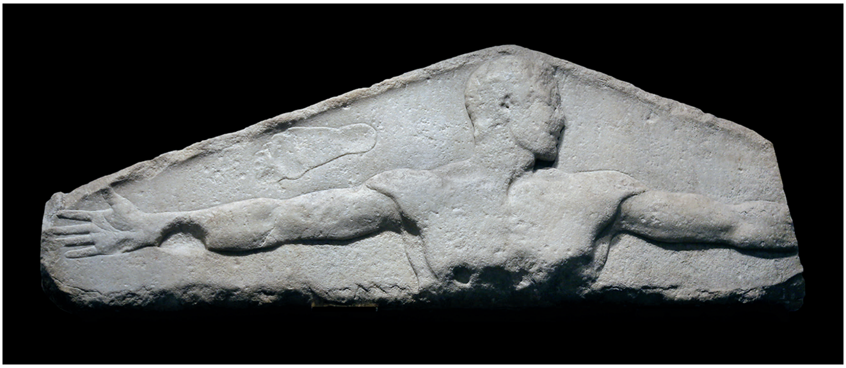


Fig. 1.4. East Greek (?) metrological relief. Marble, ca. 460–430 BCE. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. A000103. Photo: Geni (CC-BY-SA-3.0).

two structures.[46] The Parthenon uses one unit—although there is fierce dispute as to just what it is—the temple of Zeus at Olympia another; in some cases the internal inconsistency is such that historians have had to postulate more than one standard of measurement at play in a single building.[47] Worse, the relation between these internal, site-specific units and general usage is opaque, not least because the buildings themselves are key evidence for metrology, resulting in vicious circles of inference. Even the racetracks at Olympia, Delphi, and elsewhere—all notionally one stadion (600 ft) in length—are highly variable.[48] It is as though the 100 m dash were measured differently at Rio, Beijing, and London.

What, then, should we make of Herodotus's conversion of parasangs into stadia? One might suppose that any conversion between duration and space, itinerant and linear distance, must be vacuous when there is no consistent unit of measurement in play. Given the elasticity of his own units, for instance, it was not possible for Herodotus ever to test or verify his own algorithm, rendering the ratio strictly nonsensical if understood in reference to some immutable fact on the ground.[49] Yet Herodotus did manage to muddle through: his concepts, scandalously incoherent to modern eyes, seem to have worked well enough for his purposes. They counted as sensical in his milieu. This fact suggests that we need to bring different concepts of conversion and measure to bear on Herodotus, if not on Classical Greece overall. As G. P. Baker and P. M. S. Hacker put it,

> There is nothing unintelligible about modifying, or having different, techniques of, counting, calculating or measuring. What is unintelligible is hav-

> ing a different technique while adhering to the present concepts of number, arithmetical operation, sameness and difference of measurement. For the technique defines what it *means* to "add 2," [or] "the series of even integers." It is inconceivable that our rule "+ 2" should be followed differently, since the rule and what counts as its extension are internally related. *But a different calculus which resembled ours in many respects might proceed differently.*[50]

When all rulers are made of rubber, and can be stretched or compressed at will, what happens to the concept of length? Stark oppositions of theoretical and embodied, instantaneous and durational, probably do more harm than good in such cases.

Even conversion tables, or Herodotus's formula of 1:30, do not disembed measurements from "lived experience." On the contrary, they *materialize* such experience. The conversion of metrical units is not a fixed or ahistorical given: it is, on the contrary, the very stuff of convention. Conversion involves a rule, and the rule could always be otherwise; whatever form it takes will speak to particular uses, needs, and presuppositions.[51] The rule for the conversion of inches into centimeters is a ratio of 1:2.54; for conversion of parasangs into stadia, it is 1:30. These rules, and the means of applying them, are subject to historical and cultural variation. This claim may seem counterintuitive, but some thought experiments may illustrate it. One could, for instance, imagine a situation in which a stadion was 1/30th of a parasang just in case the gross number of parasangs was ≤100, after which it was 1/20th of a parasang; or one could imagine a situation in which a stadion was 1/30th of a parasang just in case the distance in question lay within the confines of the Persian Empire but not if it lay elsewhere; or 1/30th of a parasang just in case the one doing the measuring was from Halikarnassos but not if she was from Athens; or 1/30th of a parasang in book 5, section 53, of Herodotus's *Histories* but not elsewhere. All of these illustrations are counterfactual, with the possible exception of the last, which is quite close to the truth. They show that a rule of conversion can be complex, even elastic, while yet remaining a rule. But if what Purves calls "the counting out of measures" was complex, elastic, and variable in this way, then it cannot stand in contrast to some "human perspective." On the contrary: it *is* a human perspective. So far from being immutable, rules of measurement and algorithms of conversion are precisely what ought to be up for historical analysis. To study the world that produced Pythagoras and Plato, there is no need to idealize number as they did.

It may seem natural to modern readers that a unit of measurement ought to remain fixed regardless of context; it can be hard to see how a metrical system could be of any use otherwise. But the plain fact is that the Greeks did not employ the relevant concepts in that way. The stadion *did* vary in length, both on the ground and in the scrolls of Herodotus: ancient Greek units *were* elastic, and yet the Greeks were able to plan for journeys, hold competitive footraces, and build exceedingly complex temples. What counted as precision in measurement—or, more profoundly, what counted as the correct running of an algorithm, as in Herodotus's conversion formulae—seems to have been elastic in just this way. The question, then, is how it was possible for such irregularity to pertain. The Greeks in general, and Herodotus in particular, were not speaking gibberish when they formed sentences like "A parasang is equivalent to 30 stadia." We are forced to conclude, on the contrary, that the word "equivalent" (δύναται) was being used in a *particular* way, for a *special* purpose.[52] What might that way, that purpose, have been?

Kleomenes's question to Aristagoras provides a clue: after pondering the matter for three days, the Spartan asked his guest "how many days' road it was from the sea of the Ionians to the King" (εἴρετο . . . ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα, 5.50.1). The question makes perfect sense in light of both Greek and Persian metrology. Only a fool would ask a foreigner for linear distance in stadia when every city has its own metrical system; a day's march is a much more useful point of reference, especially for a general contemplating an invasion. Although the hours of daylight vary with the seasons, the variation is itself constant across the Greek world (a relatively narrow sweep of latitude); although different people travel at different rates, an experienced commander can correct for such disparities. Kleomenes, accordingly, asks how to read the map in terms of *itinerant*, not *linear* distance. He asks, quite literally, "of how many days the road is" (ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων . . . ὁδὸς εἴη). The question has nothing to do with maps per se, or their worth relative to verbal discourse. It has to do with the absence of any viable alternative to itinerant distance in a Greco-Persian context.

In the end, Herodotus translates his stadia and parasangs back into days of travel to obtain the same result that Aristagoras did: ninety days, or "three moons" (τριῶν μηνῶν, τρίμηνος ὁδός), from coast to King (5.54). The strong implication is that Aristagoras's map encoded the same information: it was (or was imagined to be) a graphic representation of the Royal Road in terms of Persian itinerant distance.[53] If this inference is correct, then, so far from competing with or outdoing Aristagoras's map in a sort of *paragone*, the Herodotean itinerary unpacks it. Although there is indeed a contrast between graphic and verbal representation, pinax and logos, it is not a distinction between atemporal and temporal, synoptic and narrative, disembodied and embodied, theoretical and "lived." Aristagoras may have been misleading or tendentious, but not because he suppressed important information about the length of time it took to march on Susa. On that score, he was as direct as the Royal Road itself: "Thus when the Milesian Aristagoras told Kleomenes the Lakedaimonian that it is a three-month road inland to the King, he was *talking straight*" (οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἴπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἴρητο, 5.54.1). Aristagoras was misleading because he supplemented a perfectly serviceable map with his own discourse, playing up the wealth of every nation between the Ionian coast and Susa in order to tempt Kleomenes.[54] It is here that the contrast with Herodotus lies: the Milesian tendentiously glosses the pinax, supplementing its coding of space and time with extraneous information about booty and slaves, while the Halikarnassian delivers useful knowledge about itineraries and travel times. The result is a duel of logoi, not of word and image. Herodotus's pinax is innocent of the charge of deception, and it is perhaps just a prejudice against pictures that put it in the dock at all. The idea that the historian is condemning a base material drawing and contrasting it to his own verbal discourse is a fairy tale of our disciplines: a closer reading, as usual, suggests a stranger world entirely.

At issue in this duel is precisely a regime of *equivalence*. In stating his algorithm, Herodotus employs the verb *dunasthai* (δύνασθαι), "to have strength or ability." The verb suggests power or force, *dunamis* (δύναμις), and is at the root of English words like "dynamo" and "dynamite": "if a parasang has the force of 30 stadia, which is the force it has" (εἰ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, 5.53; cf. 2.6.3).[55] It is a commonplace that the determination of weight standards was politically fraught in early Greece, because the question related directly to the economy: thus the Coinage and Standards Decree, whereby Athens imposed its metrical standards on other states, features in any discussion of the Athenian Empire and the Peloponnesian War.[56] Something similar pertained to space. The relation of stadia to parasangs is a matching of strength for strength: what we call an algorithm is, in context, a way to work through relations of power. It is *dunamis* that makes sense out of nonsense, *dunamis* that makes it possible to measure with rubber rulers and convert stadia into parasangs—*dunamis*, in short, that determines what units can be related and how.[57] The resulting calculus resembles our own in many respects but is sufficiently elastic that it can accommodate terms, like stadion, that would be strictly nonsensical today. There is a rule, but it is otherwise than our own.

Kleomenes's wisdom consists precisely in knowing how to judge this *dunamis* aright.[58] Aristagoras had, in effect, converted the itinerary on the map into plunder: to each stage there corresponds a certain quantity of stuff (τῶν χρημάτων, 5.49.7). The key to power, however, is to convert from geometric units to astronomical ones, from space to time. Thus Herodotus specifies that the interview with Aristagoras recommences on an appointed day (lit., "on the day in accordance with lordly power," ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρη, 5.50.1) but at a "mutually agreed" place (τὸ συγκείμενον, 5.50.1); consensus on place is secondary to royal fiat on time. On effecting the apt conversion—the itinerary on the map has the force of three moons—Kleomenes decides not to attack the Great King. With this decision he exercises considerably greater wisdom than King Croesus of Lydia had done fifty years previously, when he misread an oracle and tried to destroy the *dunamis* of Cyrus (τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, 1.90.4). In contrast to the Lydian's folly, Kleomenes knows his own measure: he is no Giant, and will not be persuaded to "challenge Zeus for riches" (τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε, 5.49.8), nor even Darius.[59]

A phenomenology of ancient space may remain a desideratum, but not if it proceeds by presupposing the very idealization of geometry that it purports to correct.[60] We need to get our heads around a form of life in which something as theoretical as the equal sign (=) is literally *dynamic*, that is, a concrete way to think through and instantiate relations of power. This exercise means, precisely, refusing to oppose that mathematical sign to a Romantic notion of "lived experience." We need to be able to think of time, space, navigation, and power holistically, and math won't save us: math cannot be a foil to historical inquiry, for the history of mathematics is, if anything, where things get odd. The bright side is that a nonreductive approach affords a richer and more capacious view of Greek technologies of space.

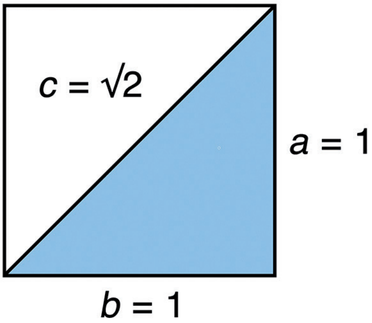


Fig. 1.5. The incommensurability of a square's diagonal with its sides. Drawing by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

The Emergence of a Formal Distinction

So let us look briefly at some of the relevant points of Classical mathematics. Both Pindar and Herodotus were active before metrical incommensurability had emerged as a problem in Greek geometry. This problem goes hand in hand with the discovery of irrational numbers in the mid- to late fifth century. The Pythagorean theorem reveals the diagonal of a square to be incommensurable (ἀσύμμετρος) with its sides: it cannot be expressed as any integral multiple of a side nor as any whole-number ratio based upon the side (fig. 1.5).[61] For example, if $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$, then a square with a unit side of 1 will have a diagonal of √2, an irrational number. Given a square of 1 stadion to a side (*which is itself a definition of a stadion*), it is literally impossible to measure the diagonal in stadia. Run the problem in reverse—define the diagonal as a unit 1 and then try to calculate the sides—and the problem remains. The ratio of diagonal to side is an *alogos logos*; there is no *summetria*, no common metric or ratio, between them.

The problem of incommensurability is of a different order from the ones posed by the proliferation of metrical units in Greece. Thus far we have been dealing with the effects of underdetermination. On the one hand, words like stadion seem to have been so elastic as to render conversion formulae vacuous; on the other, ancient concepts of distance can subsume time as well as space, which makes their visualization less straightforward than commonly assumed. These problems concern what the Pythagoreans called *megethos*, "magnitude."[62] Incommensurability, by contrast, is a problem of *arithmos*, "number." Both stadion and √2 appear problematic in certain lights, but the former is merely ill-defined while the latter is *irrational*. What brings them together is the application of the concept of a ratio. In Herodotus the ratio in question is between stadia and parasangs; in geometry it is between the sides of a square and its diagonal. Herodotus, we have argued, does not notice the (apparent) vacuity of his units because he casts the whole question in terms of power, *dunamis*. For him, they were not vacuous, and he goes right ahead and describes a parasang/stadion ratio of 1/30, even though he has no determinate definition for either term. Greek mathematicians, on the other hand, discover that there is *no ratio at all* between √2 and 1. In short, they formalize the problem of multiple metrics in a new way, as a radical asymmetry between discrete, self-contained systems of measurement (namely, one for the sides and another for the diagonal).[63]

Only in the latter half of the fifth century did it become possible to describe metrical incommensurability in terms of number rather than magnitude. There is disagreement about just who made the key discoveries and how they did so, but for present purposes the relevant point is that all the candidates postdate Herodotus and Pindar.[64] Arithmetic incommensurability would become a major preoccupation of late Classical mathematicians, including Theaetetus of Athens (eponym of Plato's dialogue, which treats the topic), Eudoxos of Knidos, and others; their efforts form the basis of book 10 of Euclid's *Elements*. For the Alexandrian geometrician Pappos, incommensurability was a scandal, and a soul that failed to resolve it was condemned to "wander [thereafter] hither and thither on the sea of non-identity, immersed in the stream of the coming-to-be and the passing-away where there is no standard of measurement."[65] Yet that is just the world Pindar and Herodotus inhabited, and it does not seem to have been so bad. Mathematical incommensurability, an *alogos logos*, was a concept that was simply unavailable to them. The historian, as we have seen, could cheerfully provide an algorithm that would be strictly nonsensical on a modern, or perhaps even a late Classical, understanding. On what understanding *was* it sensical? Again, the distinction is not between theory and body but between different historical conditions of possibility.

Lyric Rationality

What are the alternatives, what happens to our understanding of Greek space if we set aside the false antagonism of logos to pinax, geometry to "'lived-in' reality," philology to material culture? For one thing, "the counting out of measures" can regain its Archaic richness as a phrase applicable to song no less than to space. The scansion of a dactyl, a cretic, or a choriamb is altogether more consistent, from polis to polis, than the linear stadion. Arguably, these poetic units might be understood as the basic point of reference for the generation of territories—as though landscapes and buildings could be measured in song. This thought might lead one to replace the crude antithesis of body and number with a "dynamic" imbrication of meter, trope, dance, and archaeology in specific choral lyrics and specific performance venues. Poetry in performance—measured speech in motion, meter on the ground—is thus a tertium quid between measurement in the abstract and the movement of real bodies in real spaces, a literally *ambient* music. The modern, disciplinary distinction that keeps a poet like Pindar carefully sequestered from real spaces and real architecture might encourage a false divide between abstract representation and the "real," the "bodily," the "lived," and so on—culminating, most recently, in the invocation of something called "materiality" as a requisite foil to philology's putatively spiritual, intellectual concerns. But that is our problem, not the poet's. The very terms are literally nonsensical absent their mutual implication.

Instead, we propose to understand at least some Greek poetry—notably, choral lyric—as an analogue to the pinax of Aristagoras.[66] We are after the points in common between a compass sweeping around its *tornos* and a chorus describing a circle around an altar. Not that a poem is just the same thing as a map: each answers to a different purpose by different means. In performance, however, we might do worse than to think of song as an orienteering gadget, a device for finding one's place in four dimensions, for visualizing space and rendering it "orderly," *kata kosmon*. When all rulers are made of rubber, then prosody can step in to do the work of geography. Yet we can only appreciate that function if we get past the opposition between pinax and logos, architecture and song, image and time, and the subtly platonizing attitude toward numbers, algorithms, scales, dimensions, and ratios that underwrites it. We must return to song, but on the understanding that "measured speech" is, precisely, a technology—or, more accurately, a suite of technologies—for the rule-bound representation of space.

What follows, therefore, is a basic user's guide for this device.

Choral Lyric: A User's Guide

Immediately we confront a problem of evidence. Pindar's epinikia are themselves the best—but not the only—evidence for choral lyric in general, making the danger of circular argument acute. Yet we must try to discern, from lacunose evidence, something of the Archaic Greek system of lyric genre and performance—in particular, the function of traditional choral lyric as public ritual action. For it is only against such a background that we can see what Pindaric epinikion shares with traditional choral song, and also what makes it distinctive and unusual within the ancient Greek "song culture."

All poetry in Archaic and Classical Greece was composed for performance. Choral lyric, in contrast to monody or monodic lyric, was public poetry and (in origin) religious poetry—sung at civic or panhellenic festivals of the gods or at funerals for the dead.[67] At religious festivals, sung and danced in unison by a gender- and age-specific chorus, well trained and beautifully attired, choral poetry in performance was an *agalma*, "a pleasing offering" to the gods—and, as such, precisely analogous to sacrificial offerings or precious wrought objects given as dedications.[68]

A key function of choral lyric was the organization and articulation of space and time, and mythic narrative was one essential means to this end. So, for example, paians to Apollo performed on Delos often narrated the birth of Apollo and Artemis on the island, with specific mention of prominent sacred landmarks (the hill, the palm tree, the lake).[69] As Barbara Kowalzig has argued, these narratives enabled the reenactment of the original mythic events by the contemporary singing chorus.[70] This reenactment integrated the island, and certain localities and landmarks on it, into a meaningful whole—both spatially (in the relation of one site, monument, or locality to another) and temporally (in the relation of present performance to mythic past).

This temporal collapse or fusion made choral lyric poetry a potent means of communion with the gods. At the same time, choral lyric seems to have had a strong community-building function for its human participants. Thus, whether performing at home in the center of the city or as a delegation (*theōria*) sent to an extraurban or panhellenic shrine, the singing, dancing chorus simultaneously represented the whole community and forged it anew, ideally drawing choreuts and audience members alike into an intense affective and kinesthetic interidentification and fusion of roles.[71] In this light, we might think of Greek choral lyrics as so many scripts or libretti for what Catherine Bell calls "ritualization."[72] Although we have lost all the music, dance, costumes, and other staging elements, these texts organized performances whose ultimate goal was the ratification and naturalization of standing systems of meaning and social hierarchies. Repetitive, highly rule-bound actions, hallowed by prestige and expense, can inculcate such systems in the very body itself, as a kind of *habitus*. Choral lyric was exactly that: an extended song-and-dance performance, featuring poetry of a truly virtuosic complexity, that imposed high demands on audiences and singers alike. It required sustained, even intense engagement both to perform and to parse.

So, for example, we might consider the case of Alkman's partheneia, songs sung by maiden choruses in seventh-century BCE Sparta. As scholars have come to recognize, these songs, repeatedly performed, served an initiatory function for the maiden choreuts, but they also enabled the choruses to body forth the civic community in its relations of equality and hierarchy. Thus the whole group of choreuts, more or less equal, were the counterpart of the Spartan *homoioi*, while the two chorus leaders may have represented the two Spartan royal houses, with which their names seem to associate them.[73] And all of these performances probably took place in the agora or central piazza of Sparta, which we are told was called simply *Choros*, "the dancing place."[74]

Epinikion as a Hybrid Form

Within the system of choral lyric, epinikion appears to be a latecomer genre and an unusual hybrid: poems composed on commission by a professional poet, paid for by a successful athlete to celebrate his victory at one of the great panhellenic games, apparently performed by a chorus of the victor's fellow citizens in his hometown or at the site of the games. Unlike paians for the gods and threnodies for the dead—both of which figure already in the Homeric poems—epinikion appears only around 550 or even 520 BCE.[75] As a latecomer genre, it mobilizes or piggybacks on existent forms, combining formal and thematic elements of choral hymns to the gods, mourning songs for the dead, sympotic monody, gnomic wisdom poetry, and inscribed dedicatory and agonistic epigrams (among others) within its ambit.[76]

We can deduce something of the social function of epinikion from its distinctive formal and performance features. Epinikon adapts the resources of religious poetry (choral performance in a public place) for the glorification of a single living individual.[77] The very fact that a citizen chorus voices these praises in unison at the center of the city emblematizes the broader function of the genre. By coopting the voices of the victor's fellow citizens, epinikion enacts and thereby conjures their approval for his achievement.

This is "ritualization" in action: regimented bodies moving and singing in public space as part of a complex economy of fame, linking individual assertion and communal ratification in reciprocal *charis*, "grace."

Yet the communities in question are always, inveterately plural. Even as epinikion reintegrates a victor into his home community, it also situates him within a broader, interstate or panhellenic one. This is particularly true in the case of celebrity poets like Simonides, Pindar, or Bacchylides. In this period (late Archaic–Classical), we have to imagine a huge amount of amateur, informal celebratory verse for athletic victors (much of it spontaneous and probably monodically performed), most of which has not survived into the written record.[78] In contrast, commissioning one of the great panhellenic professionals to compose a full-scale choral epinikion was a rare event that marked a particularly significant occasion and aimed at a broader, panhellenic impact.[79]

Significantly, epinikia seem also to have been regularly performed at the sites of the panhellenic games where the victor had secured his victories.[80] These sites, Olympia and Delphi in particular, represented interstitial zones outside the individual poleis; elites flocked to them in order to compete in athletic contests, to network, and to set up lavish and conspicuous dedications (including victor statues).[81] Epinikia performed at such venues asserted belonging and status within the ranks of the panhellenic elite for their patrons, a disproportionate number of whom hailed from western colonies and either ruled as or associated with tyrants and monarchs.[82]

Occasion, Performance, and Reperformance

As scholars have come to recognize more and more, the same complex, layered or "synthetic" poetics that characterizes epinikion's relation to traditional genres also informs these poems' relation to occasion, performance, and reperformance. For many decades, the effort of scholarship had been to try to reconstruct as accurately as possible the original setting and occasion for the first performance of any given epinikion. But more recently, scholars have acknowledged that the immortality of song so lavishly promised by epinikion must have been largely a matter of repeated performance, given the scanty evidence for an active book trade and literary reading public in the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries BCE.[83] Scholars have therefore struggled to reconstruct the practicalities of such multiple performances and/or reperformances, and here several different hypotheses have been advanced (none of them mutually exclusive).

In the first place, Pindar (in contrast to his contemporary Bacchylides) tends to embed within his epinikia more—and more specific—references to performance occasion. When considered carefully, these references strongly suggest that the poem may have been intended for performance at several different sites. Thus, Olympian 6 seems to indicate performance both at Stymphalos in Arcadia and in Syracuse, while Olympian 1, with its vivid evocation of Pelops and the aetiology of the Olympic games, would seem to invite performance both at the festival site and at home in Syracuse.[84] Thomas K. Hubbard has extended this model still further, suggesting that several poems linked to the foundation of Aitna around 476/75 BCE might have received multiple reperformances around the Peloponnese from a traveling choral troupe, as part of Hieron's effort to recruit colonists for his newly founded city.[85] We might plausibly apply this model also to Pythian 5, composed for a Pythian chariot victory of the last Battiad king, Arkesilas, at a time when we know he was recruiting mercenaries from mainland Greece to shore up his shaky monarchy.[86]

As for reperformance scenarios: it seems likely that, in addition to musicians' copies, the family of the victor kept a text of the poem composed in their honor, which would serve as a basis for informal or more formal reperformances.[87] Pindar himself in one ode seems to describe the repeated reperformance at symposia he anticipates for his songs.[88] Twice in this ode it is a matter of a family member reperforming the song, but the evidence of Old Comedy and Plato shows us that by the last third of the fifth century epinikia by Simonides and Pindar had made it into the sympotic repertoire in Athens, and were also poetic "classics" taught in schools.[89] For this period, our literary and visual evidence is almost entirely restricted to Athens, but the performance of epinikia in Athenian (private) schools and symposia may hint at broader panhellenic diffusion as well.

Other reperformance scenarios have been mooted as well. Hubbard has suggested, for instance, that individual epinikia might be chorally reperformed at the site of the panhellenic sanctuary at which the victor originally won, on the anniversary of his victory (perhaps, e.g., to accompany the dedication of a victor statue?).[90] Likewise, Bruno Currie has argued for more formal, choral reperformance of epinikia in the victor's hometown when the original epinikion performance was effectively grafted onto a civic festival.[91] On this model, the ultimate success for individual athletic victors would be to have praise poems in their honor inserted into the civic festival circuit, thereby ensuring periodic reperformance together with the festival itself. As Christopher Carey observes, such civic festival performance and reperformance seem most plausible in the case of *laudandi* who are autocrats (where, as Carey notes, "the victor *is* the state"), but there may also be poems for private individuals that fall into this category as well.[92]

Since the specifics of actual performance are ultimately unrecoverable, other scholars have focused on the internal rhetoric of the poems. They conclude that Pindaric epinikion (unlike traditional cult song) deliberately "overloads" cues and references to multiple, different occasions, modes of performance, and physical settings. A truly panhellenic song will encode multiple sites: instead of suppressing references to specific places in the interest of versatility (producing a "McPoem" that might as well be anywhere), Pindar takes the opposite tack, cramming his songs with a surfeit of allusions, citations, and references to different performance modes and venues.[93] Olympian 8, for example, has long puzzled scholars by offering inconsistent references to its own performance location. In the first triad, the poem invokes "the grove of Pisa" (Olympia), and asks it to "receive this *kōmos* [victory celebration] and crown-bearing" (τόνδε κῶμον καὶ στεφανοφορίαν δέξαι, O.8.10); the location seems unambiguously to be Olympia itself. In the third triad, however, it speaks of Poseidon "bringing Aiakos back here" (ἀποπέμπων Αἰακόν | δεῦρ', O.8.50-51), where "here" refers no less clearly to the victor's home island of Aegina. For some scholars, this inconsistency has seemed evidence of sloppiness or "haste" of composition.[94] This reaction misses the point: we need to recognize that Pindar often encodes different performance venues within a given ode, and take seriously the implications for our understanding of the poems in question and epinikion in general. In short, Pindaric epinikion (in contrast to other choral lyric) is nonnaturalistic in its representation of the world, willfully and repeatedly violating the (Aristotelian) unities of time, place, and action. Instead, Pindar cultivates an aesthetic that deliberately heightens or foregrounds spatial and temporal jumps, disjunctions, and discontinuities.[95]

The example of Olympian 8 highlights the importance of deictics ("pointing words") in this process of "overloading." Recent scholarly attention to deictics in Greek lyric poetry (especially Pindar) has helped us see how complex and ambiguous Pindar's use of such deictic terms is in the epinikia.[96] Deictics tend to proliferate in traditional cult poetry, firmly anchoring the words of the poetic text to the specific *hic et nunc* of ritual performance.[97] Pindaric epinikion again piggybacks on such usage but simultaneously takes full advantage of the fact that deictics are what Benveniste called "shifters," words that have no absolute extralinguistic referent but instead shift meaning relative to speaker, addressee, place, and time of utterance.[98] What scholars have come to recognize is that it is more or less impossible to distinguish in Pindar's usage between *demonstratio ad oculos* (pointing to something that is right before the audience's eyes) and *Deixis am Phantasma* (pointing to imaginary sights or places, which are thereby conjured up in the audience's imagination or mind's eye).[99]

Scholars have tended to talk about these effects in terms of the vividness or *enargeia* of Pindaric narrative—how it draws the audience in and "vicariously transports" them to the scene of the myth.[100] In addition, they have recognized how the consistent ambiguity of Pindar's use of deixis forces the audience to work harder in collaborating in the process of meaning-making.[101] And while we agree with all this, we would emphasize instead how Pindar's ambiguous deixis yields remarkable and unique effects in the making of place and space. For, as we shall see, epinikion can mobilize all the intense, specific particularity associated with cult song, but also unmoor that particularity and set it in motion, beaming ritual action and the specific landscape that frames it all over a vast, dispersed, and discontinuous Greek *oikoumenē*.

Mobile Poetry for a World in Motion

This leads us, in turn, to one more aspect of the complex synthetic poetics of epinikion that makes it uniquely suited for our purposes: epinikian geography. It is a truism that epinikian myth integrates the victor and his homeland into the common traditions of panhellenic myth and legend. All but nine of Pindar's epinikia contain extended narratives of the deeds of mythic heroes as an analogy for the victor's achievement or to glorify his homeland, or both. These narratives insert the victor's community into a heroic genealogy and connect individual and community alike with the deep time of myth. These mythic narratives are also an important aspect of epinikion's work of mediating the local and the panhellenic. Thus the great subjects of the epic tradition, shared among all the Greeks—the deeds of Herakles, the war at Troy, the Seven against Thebes, the voyage of the Argo—figure prominently in many of Pindar's epinikia, but are given a local spin or connected to a hometown hero.

All this is well known. But rather than segregating out myth and treating it as somehow separate, Pindaric epinikion incorporates myth within a much more capacious and systematic spatial system that includes victory catalogues, gnomic material, transitions, and the imagery in which all these are cast. Thus we need to think about epinikian geography holistically, for the spatial concepts constituted by this poetry themselves subtend and enable such distinctions as "local" and "panhellenic." In its ambitious geographic sweep, epinikion covers the whole Greek *oikoumenē* and more, traveling in song to the ends of the earth, the underworld, and Olympos itself.[102] More specifically, these poems plot and organize relations of space and place, situating particular sites, monuments, and topographical features within a far-flung Greek *oikoumenē*.

This vast geographic range and scope, defined by particular landmarks and monuments, is in fact unusual, distinctive to epinikion, as we can see by comparison with other, more traditional forms of choral cult song. The fragmentary nature of the corpus makes this comparison difficult, but within the range of what we have, poems intended for ritual performance seem generally more focused on local myths and landmarks. So, for example, our earliest preserved cult song, Alkman's First Partheneion, appears to contain a lengthy myth of the Dioskouroi, local heroes battling their cousins, and then segues into a densely detailed representation of a chorus of local girls engaged in a ritual act. Again, Pindar's Ninth Paian, composed for the Thebans in response to a solar eclipse, begins with a supplication to "the beam of the sun" to "turn this all-common wonder (πάγκοινον τέρας) to blessedness for *Thebes*" (Pai. 9.10), then proceeds to locate the speaker in the Theban Ismenion and to narrate the distinctly local story of the birth of the mythic seer Teneros, who gave his name to the Teneric plain, "between Thebes and Mt Phikion to the west."[103]

In contrast, as Nigel Nicholson notes, epinikion frequently mentions the house of the victor, connecting it to the shrines and temples of its urban setting, but also expanding outward to the sites of the panhellenic games, especially Olympia and Delphi, vividly and concretely realized in their own topographic specificity, and to a whole network of Greek cities linked by genealogy, colonization, and emigration.[104] As Nicholson astutely observes, epinikian geography is not a matter of land and territory so much as it is "a network of discrete points," the significant places, landmarks, and monuments that bind together an imaginary Greek world.[105]

We might say that epinikion is a remarkably mobile genre of song for a world in motion. It was not just the composers of panhellenic epinikion—Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides—who traveled all over the Greek world. As Nicholson observes, epinikian victors and audiences were also particularly mobile groups, the former traveling to different sites for competition but also often for colonization/resettlement, while the latter also needed to be well traveled to have sufficient exposure to epinikia to understand and appreciate the generic norms of these complex poems.[106] For its mobile victors, patrons, and audiences, epinikion promises a panhellenic diffusion of fame akin to that of, e.g., the Theognidea, whose speaker memorably boasts: "I gave you wings with which to fly over the boundless sea, raised up over the entire earth, easily. And you will be present at all dinners and feasts, lying in the mouths of many, and together with high-voiced pipes, lovely young men will sing you beautifully and high in good order" (Theognis 237–43). And yet, the Theognidea are purpose-built for panhellenic dissemination through symposia (as these lines acknowledge) by their very vagueness and lack of specificity. Here again, Pindaric epinikion shows itself to be a hybrid, strikingly weaving together the specificity of place and landmarks of traditional cult song with the panhellenic range and reach of something like Theognidean sympotic elegy. Thus epinikion circulates its vivid descriptions of specific landscapes and monuments (e.g., Olympia, Delphi, Thebes, Cyrene, Aitna) to distant audiences throughout the Greek world.[107]

One way to appreciate these effects is to focus simply on Pindar's use of the term *kōmos* within his victory songs. Scholars have recognized that epinikion in general avoids the term *choros* for its performers, preferring instead to refer to them as a *kōmos*.[108] Indeed, Pindar frequently refers to his song as "this *kōmos*" (O.4.9, O.8.10, O.14.16, P.5.22) or as *enkōmios* or *epikōmios humnos* or *melos*, "the hymn or tune that accompanies the *kōmos*" (O.2.47, O.10.77, O.13.29, P.10.6, 53, N.1.7, N.6.32, N.8.50).[109] For Christopher Carey, this usage produces effects of spontaneity and intimacy borrowed from the genre of sympotic monody; for Jan Bremer, it is a matter of epinikion's avoiding the term *choros* as too solemn and too closely associated with religious ritual.[110] Peter Agócs essentially synthesizes these two positions, suggesting that the special appeal of the *kōmos* for Pindar is its functional flexibility. Within the complex, shifting fictive worlds Pindar conjures in song, the *kōmos* can bridge or mediate the realms of private celebration and public/civic/religious festivity, morphing from one to the other within a single song.[111] And while we agree with Agócs's thoughtful synthesis, we would emphasize instead the unpredictable *mobility* of the *kōmos*; in origin, it is the rowdy, drunken group that spills out from the symposium and careens through the city streets.

Pindar's usage exploits this mobility but makes it into something stranger still, as the Pindaric *kōmos* superimposes the most intimate and the most distant spaces while collapsing literal and figurative levels. So, for example, Pindar can begin a poem by urging one of the victor's agemates to "rouse up a *kōmos* beside the shining portal of his father" (I.8.1-4), signifying the most intimate circle of celebration adjacent to the physical house of the victor. But more frequently, Pindar's *kōmos* is a magical affair, arcing between and thereby connecting the site of the games and the victor's house. Thus explicitly at the beginning of Nemean 9:

> Κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι,
> τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπταμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι,
> ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμ'. (N.9.1-3)
>
> Let us celebrate the *kōmos* from Apollo at Sikyon, Muses, to new-founded Aitna, where the doors flung open are overwhelmed with guests, to the blessed house of Chromios.

Here the poet has the power to summon the Muses themselves to join him in revelry (κωμάσομεν) from the site of the games in Sikyon across the sea to the "blessed house of Chromios" in Hieron's new foundation of Aitna in Sicily.[112] And characteristically, the image of the *kōmos* returns at the end of the poem and becomes literal, as the poet zooms in on the celebratory symposium in Aitna and urges someone to pass around the wine in the silver cups that Chromios's chariot won for him as prize at the Sikyonian Pythia (N.9.48-53).[113]

Formal Features

Here we want to fine-tune the discussion to draw out some specific formal aspects of Pindaric epinikion that will be relevant for the detailed readings to come in the following chapters. In some cases, the features we identify were probably pervasive in choral lyric of the Archaic and Classical periods; in other cases, the features we discuss may be distinctive to epinikion or distinctive to Pindar (in the current state of our evidence it is often difficult to make these determinations).[114] We will consider here the different building blocks through which Pindaric epinikion "makes place" and organizes space and time. At the most basic level of meter, music, and dance, this is a matter of internal poetic space, the spatial "architecture" these complex verbal artifacts construct in performance.

Although all we have preserved are the words of these poems, from which we can derive their metrical structures, we have to imagine music and the repeated motions of bodies in dance reinforcing and highlighting dictional and metrical effects in live performance. In the first place, patterns of ring composition frequently articulate the parts of a song and especially demarcate its boundaries. One common form of ring composition marks the beginning and end of songs. Within such a complex verbal texture, words, themes, and ideas repeated from the opening of the song cue the audience that it is ending. And while such effects are pervasive in Greek poetry, what seems to be distinctive to Pindar is the repetition of imagery rather than or in addition to exact wording, often with a shift or subtle inflection of meaning or relations.[115] A simple example that will figure in chapter 8 is the imagery of gold, neatly framing the whole of Olympian 6, from its first word, χρυσέας, to the epithet of Amphitrite, "gold-spindled" (χρυσαλακάτοιο, 104), that adorns its end.[116]

One particular form of ring composition that serves a significant structuring function within Pindaric epinikion is the making of meaning through precise metrical responsion of words or images. Within the system of Greek choral lyric, each individual composition has its own unique metrical pattern, either monostrophic (with one complex system that repeats) or triadic (with an *aab* metrical structure that repeats). In either system, the metrical structure produces patterns of cyclical repetition through time, presumably reinforced by repeated music and dance forms that accompanied and corresponded to the metrical structure. Within this repeating cyclical system, the poet can highlight or emphasize particular words or phrases by placing them in exact metrical responsion—in exactly the same spot within the metrical structure in two or more strophes or triads. Imagine that we have the musical score of a song, with several verses of it printed below in sequence, and the words of each verse aligned note by note. In that case, if we read through the words of the verses *vertically*, we will notice words repeating in the same spot or significant overlays of words—a cumbersome visual process for effects that are easily audible in performance. This is essentially what we are doing with the written text of Pindar, who is a master of such effects of responsion.

In general, the responsion of a single word, phrase, or image emphasizes that element and produces a denser semantic content that only emerges over the course of the song. In some cases, such effects can *spatialize* form, transmuting the poem (or parts of the poem) into a cyclical journey or a symmetrical monument. For example, Pythian 10 (498 BCE) suggests a looping journey out to the ends of the earth and back. At the very end of the poem's second antistrophe, while talking about the limits of human blessedness, the poet opines that "[neither] with ships nor going on foot could you find the marvelous road to the assembly of the Hyperboreans" (ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν, 30). Strikingly, this assertion of limitation leads directly into an account of Perseus's successful visit to the Hyperboreans, led by Athena after he had killed the gorgon Medusa and taken her head.[117] Pindar pauses to describe the "assembly of the Hyperboreans" as a kind of perennial sympotic paradise, then breaks off from the myth at the very end of the third antistrophe: "To me, nothing ever appears to be unbelievable to marvel at when the gods accomplish [it]" (ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμάσαι | θεῶν τελεσάντων οὐδέν ποτε φαίνεται | ἔμμεν ἄπιστον, P.10.48-50). Within this breakoff, the phrase (ἐ)μοὶ δὲ θαυμάσαι occupies the identical metrical *sedes* at the end of the third antistrophe that θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν occupies at the end of the second.[118] The echoing terms precisely demarcate the poem's myth. In so doing, they constitute that myth *spatially* within the song as "another country," a far-off magical land to which the poem itself transports us and then brings us home—by a route that ships and foot traffic could never follow. This is the "wondrous" power of Pindaric song, which effortlessly collapses near and far, the present celebration in Thessaly and the Hyperboreans, those mythic people who occupy the impossible edges of the world "beyond the North wind."

These are the smallest building blocks of Pindar's edifices of song, but we can also identify larger-scale "architectural members" constituted by meter, rhythm, music, and dance—at least in the case of those odes that are triadic. William Mullen has done a statistical analysis of the thirty-two Pindaric epinikia that consist of multiple triads and discovered that certain elements of content tend to pattern overwhelmingly in the epodes (the third stanza of each triad, with its own unique metrical structure).[119] According to Mullen, gnomic precepts on the limits of mortality and mention of noble deaths, whether of mythological heroes or of the victor's family members, occur with strikingly greater frequency in epodes than in strophes or antistrophes (which, taken together, are of course twice as common within triadic compositions).[120] Most salient for our purposes, Mullen observes that the inner epodes especially tend to include the most significant moments within mythic narrative. These include the earliest point or *archē* of the myth, as well as its climactic moments of divine punishment or divine gift and grace.[121]

The internal evidence of the poems themselves for what Mullen terms "epodic arrest" (moments of significant pause at the point of the epode) encourages him to accept the tradition, preserved only in very late sources, that the choreography of the triad consisted of the chorus dancing in a circle in one direction for the strophe; reversing direction and dancing in a circle back for the antistrophe; and finally standing still for the epode.[122] If we can accept the substance of these later traditions (which Mullen's statistical analysis does indeed seem to bear out), the choreographic pattern and especially the "stand" of the epode represent remarkable resources of bodies, movement, and dance to underscore and highlight the poet's verbal constructions of meaning and emphasis.[123] We have already considered the case of Pythian 10, where moments of significant responsion fall immediately before two successive epodic "stands." On Mullen's argument, the verbal effects we have noted would have been powerfully reinforced by the cyclical choreography of movement and stasis, which would have made the verbal repetitions visually as well as aurally striking.

For Mullen, the poet's artful disposition of material within the triad highlights the climactic point of divine grace within the myth, which tends to fall within "the central or penultimate epode" of the song.[124] So for him this is really about an elaborately danced form of ring composition. Olympian 6, a poem we will treat at length in chapters 7 and 8, offers a good example of such a structure, building to its mythic climax in the third epode of five triads. Here the hero Iamos descends to the river Alpheios by night to ask the gods for some special honor and hears in response the uncanny voice of Apollo summoning him to Olympia; Apollo's words, the only direct speech within the extended myth of the poem, round out the epode (O.6.62-63).[125]

But as Mullen himself acknowledges, we might also think of the structure of epodic "stands" as constituting a spatial or architectural form for the poem, when the significant moments of mythic narrative are disposed symmetrically between two internal epodes. Thus Mullen notes that in several poems, "punishment and favor stand like pillars to support the whole fabric of myth by placing punishment in one epode and then favor in the next."[126] But this symmetrical structure is not limited to patterns of punishment and favor; consider, for instance, Pythian 5. Here, in a structure we would be inclined to call “pedimental,” the second and third epodes within a four-triad poem narrate the significant beginning and end points of the oikist Battos’s adventures in Libya. In the second epode, Battos, newly arrived in Africa, scares away lions with his “tongue from over the sea,” while in the third, he lays out the sacred precincts of the city and its “straight-cut” road and finally (at the very end of the epode) receives his founder’s cult, buried “at the edge of the agora” (P.5.54-62, 85–94).[127]

Thus Mullen’s analysis of the complex structure of triadic choreography allows us to appreciate the counterpoised elements of movement and stasis built into individual epinikia. “Moving dancers define a path but stationary dancers define a space.”[128] A triadic poem in performance oscillates between the two, reproducing at a microlevel, fractally, as it were, the same dialectic of fixed locality and magical transport we have already observed writ large as a distinctive feature of epinikian geography.

• • •

Let us return to our two technologies for articulating space and time—the map or pinax and choral song in performance. We pair these two technologies in a deliberate effort to break down the modern disciplinary barriers that oppose word and object, image and text, and their respective analysis. In fact, what we have discovered is that Herodotus’s logos *collaborates* with the pinax to produce a yet more complicated technology of four dimensions: object and narrative working together to enable navigation and topopoesis. In the chapters to come, we will find a parallel for this collaboration in the ways in which Pindar’s odes in performance and reperformance interact with, appropriate, and narrativize landscapes and monuments to order and organize place; to enable singers and audiences alike to find their way about. But this cooperation across media also serves as an image or allegory for our own combined intradisciplinary practice in the chapters that follow, where, we contend, we can forge common ground and understand its topography together in ways that neither of us could alone.

CHAPTER TWO

Statues, Songs, and Spaces

Everything interacts with its environment in some sense. Most of these interactions are unremarkable but nonetheless involve a larger web of relations that comprise a particular form of life. Ordinary household things often play an outsized role in this regard, even when they pass unnoticed; a rug, for instance, can really tie a room together. It is a touted virtue of artworks, however, to articulate such relations with special clarity. Wallace Stevens makes this claim with his poem "The Anecdote of the Jar" (1919), which describes how, under the right circumstances, even a simple utensil can affect its surroundings.

> I placed a jar in Tennessee,
> And round it was, upon a hill.
> It made the slovenly wilderness
> Surround that hill.
>
> The wilderness rose up to it,
> And sprawled around, no longer wild.
> The jar was round upon the ground
> And tall and of a port in air.
>
> It took dominion everywhere.
> The jar was gray and bare.
> It did not give of bird or bush,
> Like nothing else in Tennessee.

The poet's gesture of *placing* the jar (the pun was probably fresher in 1919 than it is today) brings out the mutual implication of localities and things.[1] The jar, in its placement, literally *makes* a slovenly wilderness, constitutes the wilderness dialectically as its surroundings. Wilderness "sprawls around" only relative to the jar: the adjective "round" in the second line develops into the compounds "surround" and "around" before returning with the interior rhyme of "round upon the ground."[2] On the way, "*a* hill" becomes "*that* hill"; the indefinite becomes demonstrative. Likewise, the jar's own height and volume ("tall and of a port in air") emerge through its relation with those surroundings: taking dominion, giving of neither bird nor bush, being like nothing else.[3] It is a reciprocal implication that both the poet and the poem effect. Thus the "anecdote" (lit., the "not given," *an-ekdotos*) is, with its ring composition, itself a "round" jar of sorts: "placing" here is as much a linguistic or poetic act as it is a historical occurrence in the state of Tennessee ca. 1919.

A lot of sculpture—Greek and otherwise—constitutes its surroundings in something like this fashion.[4] The difference is that sculpture, unlike most jars, is purpose-built to do so: one of its essential functions is to stage mutual involvement with space, even to "take dominion everywhere." Statues and stelai could make or define zones, regions, and territories; that is one reason why, as we shall see, the Greeks put sculpture on a continuum with aniconic boundary stones, turning posts, and landmarks. Spatiality is more essential to Greek sculpture than iconic depiction. Yet the example of Stevens is a reminder that poetry has its own ways to intervene in this arena. Pindar, in particular, had a resource that twentieth-century Modernists did not: he wrote for performance by ambient singers at sites already seeded with architecture, sculpture, and other devices of topopoesis. The result is a corpus of poetry no less spatially implicated than the corpus of Greek sculpture, and of dazzling complexity: "like nothing else."

It is in this spirit that the present chapter and chapter 3 explore the imbrication of space, sculpture, and song in Archaic and Classical Greece. The goal of this pair of chapters is not to be exhaustive but to sketch a range of possibilities by means of case studies, in order to set up the more detailed discussions that follow. Accordingly, this chapter offers a brief survey of some of the strategies that sculptors used to "embed" their works in public spaces, with particular emphasis on pose, narrative, and what the Greeks called *aglaia*, "radiance." It then discusses some of the ways in which choral lyric could, in performance, complement, collaborate—and engage directly with—both sculpture and architecture in pursuance of such orchestrations of space through the example of the interactions between choral performers and an array of statues, shrines, and stones at ancient Miletos. Chapter 3 then considers corresponding effects in Pindar. The poet embeds statues, votives, and other numinous objects within his poetry, but he also analogizes his own poems to various kinds of *agalmata* (dedications, inscriptions, architectural monuments).[5] In each case, material culture, poetry, and performance relate as intimately as Stevens's anecdote does to its tall, gray, bare jar.

The point of this trajectory is not to take us from a first-order discourse to a second-order one, from real statues to their representation in Archaic and Classical Greek literature and thought.[6] Such binaries reflect disciplinary distinctions (as between art history and philology) that, while heuristic in some cases, would do more harm than good in the present one. Stevens's anecdote suggests that a poem can intervene in space—and, indeed, constitute it—no less directly than a piece of bronze or marble might do. More prosaically, Pindar's epinikia were in many cases parts of larger commemorative ensembles, versified counterparts to victor statues and to less tangible, ritual celebrations. Poems and statues shared sites, patrons, and occasions, and it would be arbitrary to give evidentiary priority to one form of commemoration over another. We need to see the mutual implications and involvements *within the corpora* if we are to have any hope of understanding, even provisionally, the spatial practices of the larger Greek world.

Archaic into Classical: Beyond Anecdote

Archaic statuary tends to be like the jar in Tennessee: it stands in a negative relation to its surroundings.[7] Kouroi and korai, up on their pedestals or columns, do not interact with mortals at ground level, perform no particular action, but smile radiantly at nobody in particular (figs. 2.1, 2.2). Their elevation sets them apart, and their closed, self-contained poses reiterate this isolation. These figures are not just severed from their environs, but are *conspicuously* so. They can proffer gifts, or pour libations, but their sheer stiffness and stillness generalize the gestures and remove them from the quotidian; as Aristotle might say, their actions are ἁπλῶς and not κατὰ χρόνον, generic and without grammatical tense.[8] Even the most "extroverted" of Archaic types, like the palladion or promachos, are essentially alien to their surroundings (fig. 2.3). Pallas may shake her spear, but the iconography of the *Ilioupersis* dramatizes the gap between statue and environs: Ajax violates Cassandra at the very foot of a guardian statue that, for all the militancy of its pose, protects absolutely nothing (fig. 2.4). It stays in its own little world.

Some early sculpture, however, does interact with its surroundings in a very literal way. The lion heads that decorated fountains and served as gutter spouts on temples are anything but self-contained: they literally disgorge (fig. 2.5).[9] Although most spouts took the form of simple protomes, a freestanding lion of seventh-century date from Olympia shows

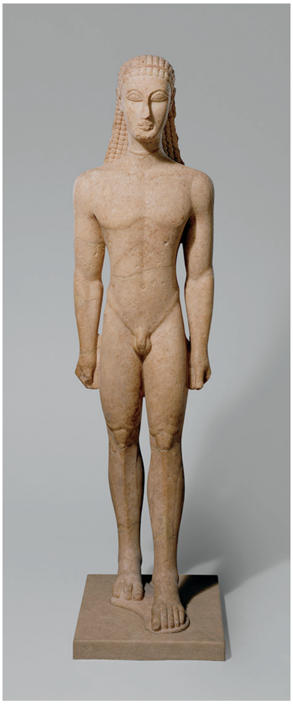
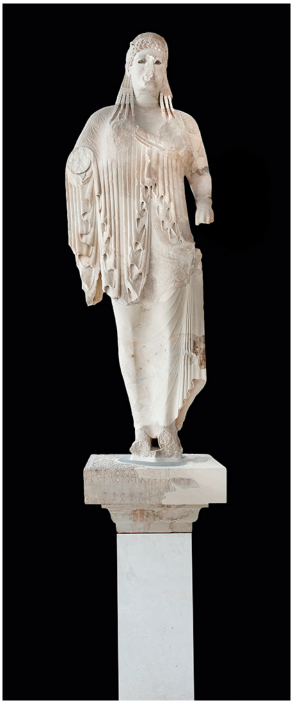
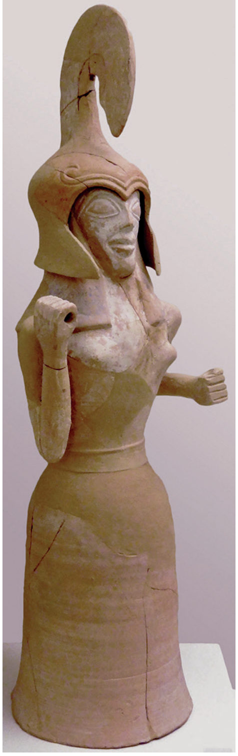



Fig. 2.1. (*left*) Kouros from eastern Attica. Marble, ca. 590-580 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.11.1. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art open-content program. *Fig. 2.2.* (*right*) Athens, Acropolis: kore. Marble, ca. 510 BCE. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 681. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

that such figures could be monumental.[10] Tellingly, however, there is no *narrative* rationale for the interaction. The water is not part of the depictive content of the image: a lion's-head spout is a sculpture that happens also to discharge water, not a representation of a lion who is vomiting fluid.[11] By contrast, a kouros who tips a phiale is pouring a libation even when the dish is empty (fig. 2.6). Yet this gesture by no means breaks what it is convenient, if imprecise, to call "the fourth wall." In the case of libating deities, the action arguably severs them all the more from humans. To whom, after all, are the gods making offerings? Such images are what Nikolaus Himmelmann calls *Daseinsbilder*, timeless images of deities in their own sacred, self-contained realm, cut off from mortals.[12]

In Classical Greek sculpture, by contrast, narrative frequently motivates a dynamic interaction with the surrounding environment. An especially clear example is the Tyrannicides monument in the Athenian agora, erected



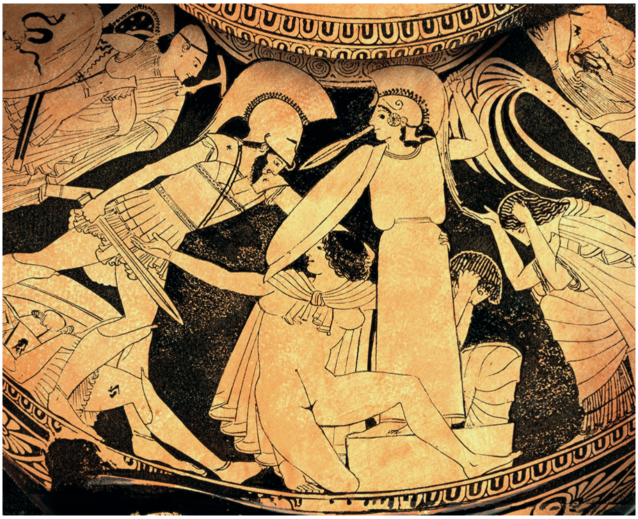
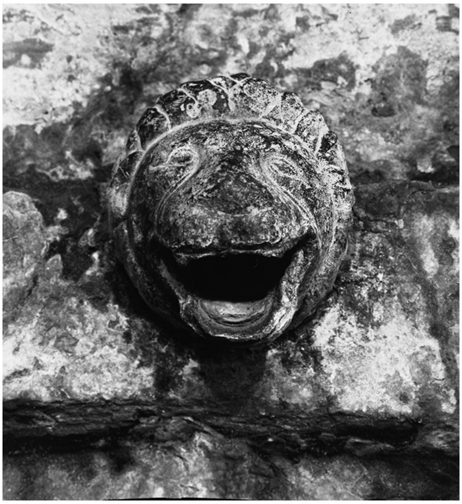


Fig. 2.3. (*left*) Gortyn: palladion (shield and spear missing). Clay, seventh century BCE. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion. Photo by Olaf Tausch (CC-BY-SA-3.0). *Fig. 2.4.* (*right*) Attic red-figure hydria from Nola, by the Kleophrades Painter. Sack of Troy: Oilean Ajax drags Cassandra from the palladion; at left, Aeneas carries Anchises. Clay, ca. 480 BCE. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81699. Photo: Interfoto / Alamy.



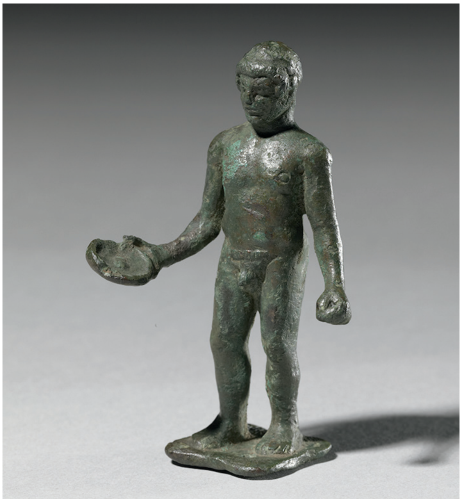


Fig. 2.5. (*left*) Corinth: lion-head spout of the Sacred Spring. Bronze, sixth century BCE. Corinth, Museum. Photo by Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartzioti, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations, used by kind permission. *Fig. 2.6.* (*right*) Youth pouring libation, said to be from Olympia. Bronze, ca. 470 BCE. London, British Museum, 1934,1116.1. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

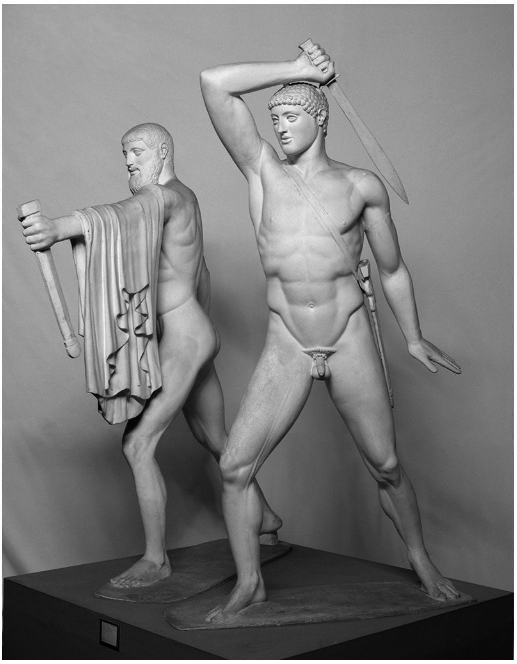


Fig. 2.7. Athens: Tyrannicides monument of Kritios and Nesiotes, reconstruction based on Roman versions and representations in other media. Plaster, after bronze originals of ca. 477/76 BCE. Rome, Museo dei Gessi. Photo: Schwanke, neg. DAI Rome 84.3301.

in 477/76 BCE to replace an earlier group that the Persians had stolen during their occupation of the city three years earlier (fig. 2.7).[13] This monument is a watershed in Greek sculpture—albeit one that is known today only through an array of copies in multiple media, including fragmentary casts taken from the original bronzes during the Roman period. It represented a historical event that occurred in 514 BCE: the assassination of Hipparchos, brother of the ruling tyrant of Athens, by Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The Athenians officially credited this act with having triggered a chain of events that led to the establishment of democracy. The sculptors, Kritios and Nesiotes, showed the two assassins charging forward with swords at the ready; the victim, Hipparchos, did not appear, as if to suggest that the fight against tyranny was never complete. Erected in the new agora, to the north of the Acropolis, itself an innovation of the democratic regime, the group was a major ideological statement in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars.[14]

The sculptors, Kritios and Nesiotes, took advantage of all the possibilities that the relatively novel medium of large-scale bronze sculpture afforded. On the one hand, bronze permitted open, active poses that marble did not; on the other, it produced flashing highlights, gleaming where stone tended to absorb sunlight and glow.[15] In place of the equipoise of the kouros type, accordingly, now violent movement impels the figures directly into the space of the beholder: a startling, even invasive attack, and a dramatic innovation in sculpture. The new brilliance of the figures corresponds to an intensification of pose and dramatic action.

An epigram on the base of the monument made this connection explicit. Ascribed to Simonides of Keos, the text is known from later sources and from a fragment of the inscription itself.

⸤ἐ͂ μέγ' Ἀθεναίοισι φόος γένε⟨θ⟩' ενίκ' Ἀριστο-⸥
    ⸤γείτον hίππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ⸥ hαρμόδιο⸤ς⸥
[– ⏔ – ⏔ – ⏔ – ⏔ –⏖ – –]
    – ⏔ ἰσόνομον πα]τρίδα γε͂ν ἐθέτεν̣.

A great light came into being at/for the Athenians, when Aristogeiton killed Hipparchos with Harmodios [. . .] [and they] made their fatherland's earth [equal under the laws?].[16]

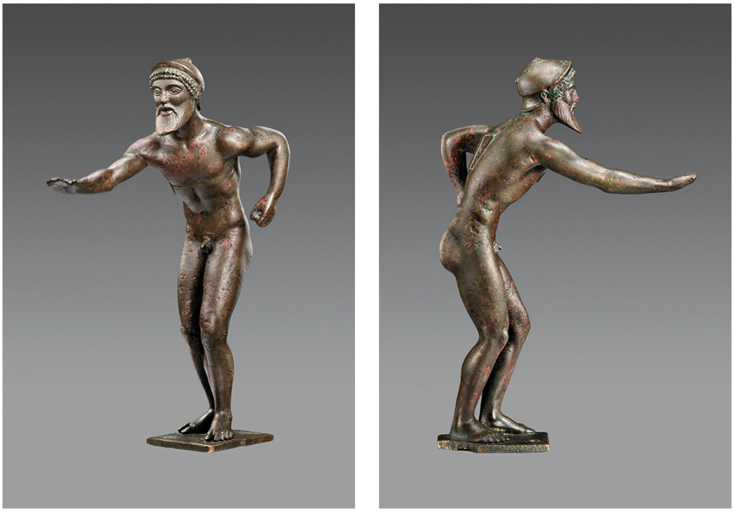
The conceit here is that the onrushing figures of gleaming bronze are a "great light" flashing at or for the Athenians. The metaphor trades on the two signal features of the statue group: the brilliance of the material and the visual impact of the action. It shows how these two features go together. Medium recapitulates narrative, and conversely: to rush at the beholder is to be a "great light," while literally to be bright, to gleam in the sunlight, is to strike the eye with something like violence. Both Simonides and the sculptors constitute their beholders as "datives," not nominatives; the monument localizes them, not the other way around. One might contrast the way that Pindar, in Isthmian 2, calls his patron Ἀκραγαντίνων φάος, "light of the Akragantines": where Simonides's light beams *at* the populace, Pindar's is *of* them.[17] Shining and charging, the assassins flash "at and for" the Athenians, "at and for" the passersby, who are all potentially targets.

This monument stood in the new agora that the democracy established in the early years of the fifth century BCE to replace an old, Archaic one to the east of the Acropolis.[18] When erected, the statues will have stood out among a relatively small number of expressly civic monuments in the area. They were also the first honorific portraits that the Athenian state commissioned in civic space; for Tonio Hölscher, in fact, the first truly secular, political statues in Greek history.[19] Certainly they will have stood out as the state's first substantial intervention in the civic center following the Persian destruction; although their exact location remains uncertain, in the early 470s construction in the vicinity was so sparse that there will have been few impediments to seeing them over a considerable distance. By the next century, the statues could be used as a shorthand for the entire agora: in Aristophanes's *Assemblywomen* (392/91 BCE), Praxagora declares that she will have ballot boxes set up "in the agora alongside Harmodios, and have everyone draw lots" (εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω, | κᾆτα στήσασα παρ' Ἁρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας, 681–82; cf. *Lysistrata* 631–34). In this light the statues effected an overtly political version of what Stevens called "taking dominion": they helped to constitute a public space as such and eventually became its very *sēmata*.

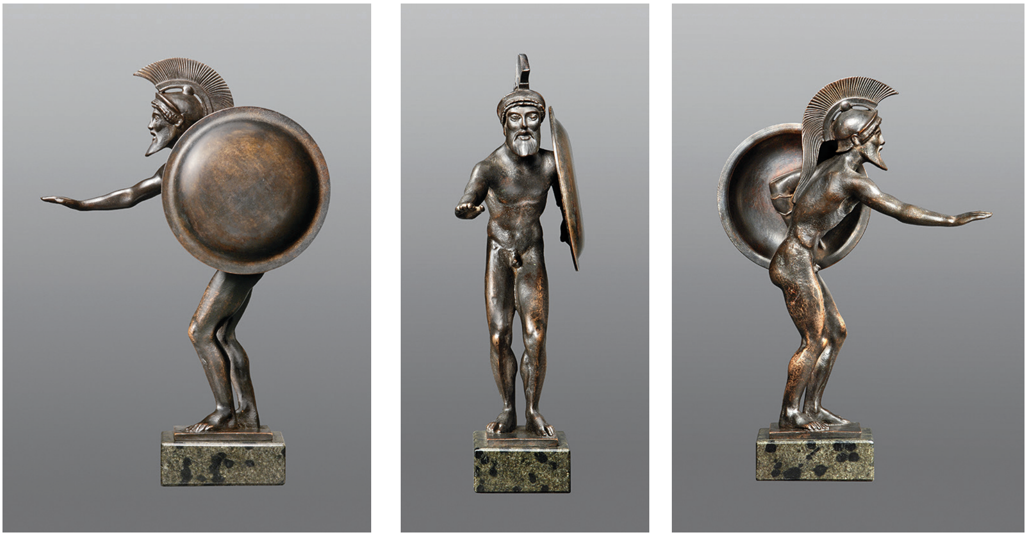
For present purposes, the Tyrannicides monument is exemplary in its combination of sculpture and poetry. Epigram and monument stand in a reciprocal, mutually reinforcing relation, helping us to see how the genesis of a great *phoōs* can found a state both spatially and politically. In tandem, they put four terms in play: depicted *movement*, motivated by *narrative*, assimilated to *light*, and constitutive of *space*. These terms are, as we shall see, hallmarks of the sculpture of Pindar's day. Pindar's poems, of course, differ from epigram in that they did not accompany statues: if anything, they sublated both sculpture and inscription into a new, complex artifact like nothing else in the Greek world. In what follows, we will sketch out some of the complex interaction of movement, narrative, light, and space in Classical sculpture before moving on to Pindar's own spatial and material poetics in the next chapter.

The Tübingen Runner

The closest sculptural counterpart to epinikion is the victor statue.[20] Within this genre, an apt comparandum to the Tyrannicides is a bronze figurine, now in Tübingen, representing a mature man poised to begin the race in armor, or *hoplitodromos* (figs. 2.8, 2.9).[21] Although its provenance is unknown, the figurine belongs with a group of similar bronzes produced in Aegina and Athens sometime around the 480s BCE.[22] Known since the eighteenth century, it is in excellent but not perfect condition: the left arm originally bore a circular shield, and the crest of the helmet has broken off (figs. 2.10, 2.11, 2.12). Yet the Tübingen figurine remains one of the finest of all fifth-



Figs. 2.8–2.9. Runner in armor (*hoplitodromos*). Bronze, ca. 490-475 BCE. Tübingen, University Museum, inv. 1. © Museum der Universität Tübingen, Antikensammlung. Photos by Thomas Zachmann.

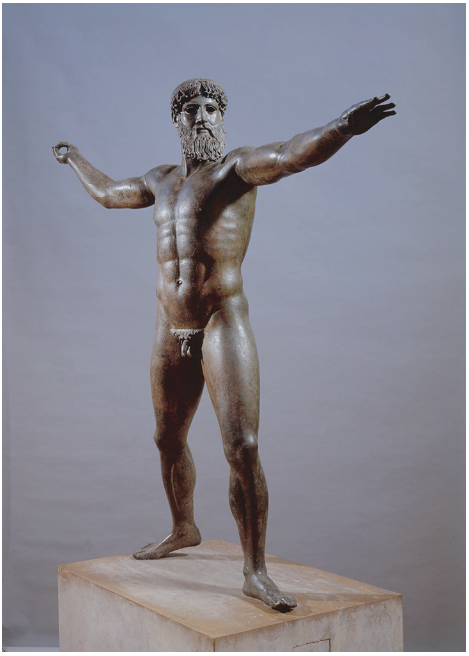


Figs. 2.10–2.12. Runner in armor (*hoplitodromos*), modern reconstruction. Bronze, 1921. Tübingen, University Museum. © Museum der Universität Tübingen, Antikensammlung. Photos by Thomas Zachmann.

century bronzes and an indication of the appearance of at least some large-scale victory monuments.[23] Small figurines could commemorate major contests, especially when mounted on stone pillars or columns, and even important artists could produce diminutive works, such as an equestrian statuette that Onatas of Aegina made for one Timarchos on the Athenian Acropolis.[24] We may not know the occasion, or even the location, of the Tübingen runner's own dedication, but it is an athletic monument in its own right and can sustain comparison with epinikion.

It is possible, however, to be a bit more precise. The Tübingen figure has long been associated with a base for a life-sized statue from the Athenian Acropolis that bears a dedication from one Epicharinos and signatures of Kritios and Nesiotes, the very pair that made the Tyrannicides.[25] From Pausanias we learn that Epicharinos appeared as a runner in armor.[26] Since the inscription on the base does not mention the contest, Pausanias must have inferred it from the iconography; since a seminude man in armor could easily be a hero, the stance must have been the giveaway.[27] Epicharinos's statue is long gone, but the cuttings on the top suggest a posture similar to that of the Tübingen statuette: left leg forward, center of gravity well back.[28] Although about ten years or so may separate the works, a general similarity is likely.[29] In short, small bronzes and large statues belong on a single spectrum, as specimens of a single genre.

Stylistically the Tübingen runner is transitional between late Archaic and early Classical, with the decorative hair of the former and the rippling anatomy and open pose of the latter. In place of the imposing charge of the Tyrannicides, however, here all is incipience. The runner stands with neck thrust forward, lips parted; shield arm slightly elevated, left arm extended; legs flexed, weight on the right, ready to spring. The square base lays out a basic quadrature in which front and profile views dominate. As often in this period, the profile views resolve into flat patterns, while the frontal one projects dramatically into the space of the beholder; the obvious comparison is with the Zeus of Artemision and small-scale versions of the same motif (figs. 2.13, 2.14).[30] From the "closed" right side, the shield will have appeared as a perfect circle, without perspectival distortion, the limbs radiating outward in a graphic silhouette that goes back to the files of warriors in Late Geometric vase painting. From the "open" left, meanwhile, the jutting elbow and flexed knees will have made a long, angular zigzag against the shield; the left forearm aligns with the right thigh, the spadelike beard with the extended right arm, again minimizing any sense of depth. From the front, however, everything is different. Now the shield



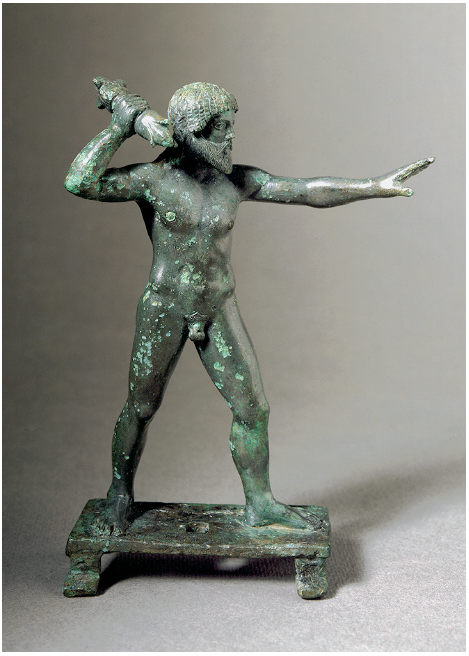


Fig. 2.13. (*left*) Zeus from Cape Artemision. Bronze, ca. 460-450 BCE. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 15161. Photo: Nimatallah / Art Resource, NY. *Fig. 2.14.* (*right*) Zeus from Dodona. Bronze, second quarter of the fifth century BCE. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 16546. Photo: Universal Images Group / Art Resource, NY.

is an ellipse, emphasizing the third dimension instead of suppressing it, while the left arm sticks out well forward of the base, anticipating forward motion instead of showing it directly. As with the Artemision god, the artist has elongated the projecting arm to nearly simian length in order to enhance the effect: the runner *impinges*.

A cup by the Alkimachos Painter conveys the projective effect of this stance (fig. 2.15).[31] It sets a runner in armor, posed just like the Tübingen figurine, before a fluted column that marks the starting line (ἄφεσις); the outstretched arm extends beyond this boundary, both visibly and metaphorically crossing a barrier. The shield blazon, meanwhile, is another runner in armor, this time at full tilt; the circle of the shield reiterates the shape of the cup tondo itself, so we have medallions within medallions, one showing the present, the other what is about to transpire.[32] Thus another line is both established and crossed: the one between incipient and actual motion, present and future.

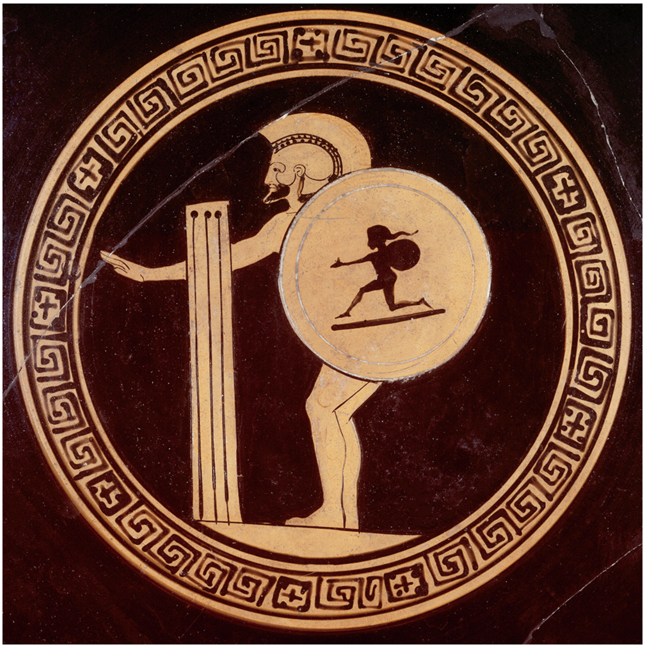


Fig. 2.15. Attic red-figure cup by the Alkimachos Painter. Runner in armor (*hoplitodromos*) at starting post. Clay, ca. 470 BCE. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC89. Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, used by kind permission.

Achilleus on the Plain

A bronze man in flashing armor of bronze, the Tübingen figure invites comparison to the Greek world's paradigmatic runner-in-armor, Achilleus.[33] In the twenty-second book of the *Iliad*, the poet describes the hero as a congeries of radiance and speed, focalizing his description through the eyes of Priam, who watches from the walls of Troy:

> Τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
> παμφαίνονθ’ ὥς τ’ ἀστέρ’ ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο,
> ὅς ῥά τ’ ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
> φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ’ ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ·
> ὅν τε κύν’ Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
> λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ’ ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
> καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
> ὣς τοῦ χαλκὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στήθεσσι θέοντος. (*Il.* 22.25–32)

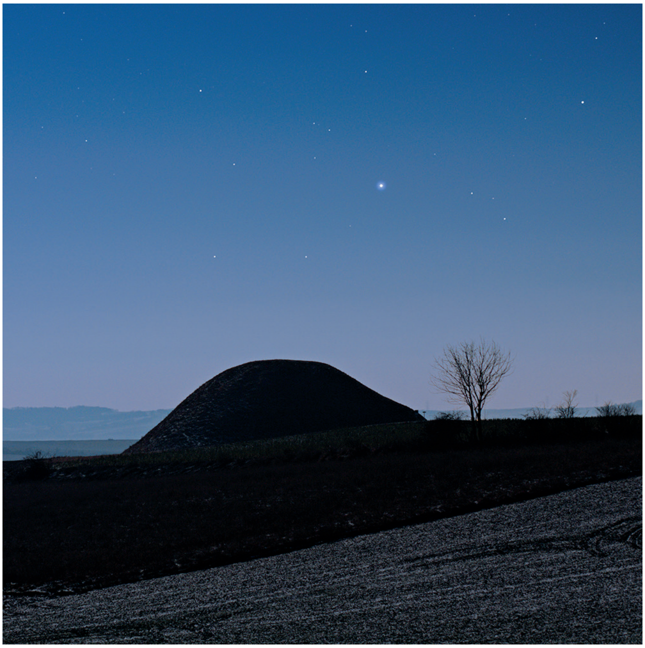


Fig. 2.16. Sirius rising over the Iron Age Leeberg tumulus, Austria. Photo © www.projectnightflight.net, used by kind permission.

> The old man Priam was first to see him with his eyes, as he sped all-shining/all-appearing over the plain like the star that comes up at harvest time, and brightly its rays shine among the many stars in the gloom of night, the star that men call by the name Dog of Orion. Brightest of all is it, yet it is wrought as a sign of evil and brings much fever to wretched mortals. Thus was the bronze gleaming on the breast of Achilleus as he ran.

This passage brings out the "spatiality" of an armed runner's brilliance and speed. Bearing down on the Trojans, Achilleus becomes the essential point of reference in their field of vision; he stands out from the plain below the city as the Dog Star stands out in the sky above (fig. 2.16). The description vividly positions Priam as an observer who directs his eyes at a distant, gleaming entity, just as wretched mortals watch a rising star and feel its fiery heat: the armed runner is, as it were, an ambient landmark, a beacon on the move whose appearance is almost palpable.

Light is efficacious across great distances. Achilleus addresses Apollo, the lord of light, as ἑκάεργε, "you who work from afar" (*Il.* 22.15; cf. 1.474), immediately before starting his dash toward Troy; his own conspicuous radiance shows how apt this epithet is, prompting a lengthy lament from Priam despite the distance that separates them (*Il.* 22.38-76). If light establishes spatial relations, then, it also transcends them: just as the compound word ἑκάεργος, “far-worker,” mutually implicates distance and propinquity, so a lightbeam collapses space while coordinating it.[34] As with space, so with time: radiance has a temporal dimension as well, in that the hero’s gleam portends or announces an arrival that is imminent but as yet unrealized. Achilleus lags behind his own brilliance, so to speak, which is why the phenomenon is equally a “sign of evil,” κακὸν σῆμα; the evil itself will arrive when the runner attains the gates.[35] In short, if light brings the distant near, it also brings the future into the present—if only in the form of a sign.

If these brilliant *sēmata* are paradigmatic of a certain kind of spectacle, so too is their beholding. Priam reads the sign correctly and prophesies his own fate, but Hektor literally cannot stand it, and turns to flee as Achilleus draws near (σχεδόν, *Il.* 22.131; cf. ἆσσον, *Il.* 22.92), “while the bronze that closed about him was shining like the flare of blazing fire or the sun in its rising” (ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῇ | ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἠελίου ἀνιόντος, *Il.* 22.134-35, trans. Lattimore).[36] Just as men feel the heat that the Dog Star brings, so the effect on Hektor is visceral: “trembling seized him” (ἕλε τρόμος, *Il.* 22.136). Tellingly, the Myrmidons react in exactly the same way when they gaze upon the radiant (ἀγλαά, *Il.* 19.18) armor of Achilleus, “works of skillful craft” (δαίδαλα, *Il.* 19.13, 19) that appear suddenly in their midst: “Trembling seized all the Myrmidons: none dared to look straight at it, but they shrank back” (Μυρμιδόνας δ’ ἄρα πάντας ἕλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ’ ἔτρεσαν, *Il.* 19.14-15). The work of craft and the radiant runner elicit the identical response. Hephaistos had earlier predicted of his handiwork that “whoever looks upon it will wonder for himself” (θαυμάσσεται, ὅς κεν ἴδηται, *Il.* 18.467); this speechless shaking must be what he had in mind.

Achilleus the fast runner, in short, is like a work of art. He assimilates to the wonderful handiworks that cover his body, and becomes like a living, ambient version of the golden kouroi who stand on pedestals in the palace of Alkinoos, “holding lighted torches in their hands, shining by night for the banqueters throughout the hall” (χρύσειοι δ’ ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν | ἕστασαν αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες, | φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι, *Od.* 7.100-102). Brilliance in motion, a radiant alterity: these are exemplary *daidala*.

The Tyrannicides monument, a "great light," or μέγα φόως, forever bearing down on passersby, is perhaps the most extreme statement of this principle: every beholder who stands in the path of Harmodios and Aristogeiton is in the position of a Priam or a Hektor. Yet the motif of Zeus *argikeraunos*, "lord of bright lightning," is scarcely less emphatic, as the god hurls a thunderbolt at an unspecified target out in the world. Medium recapitulates iconography, and conversely, for bronze itself is as brilliant as lightning ("Far shone the bronze like the lightning of Father Zeus," τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός, *Il.* 10.153-54; cf. 11.65-66). Lightning, conversely, is also a sign, like Achilleus or the Dog Star: the son of Kronos shakes it from gleaming Olympos, "showing forth a sign to mortals: conspicuous are the light-rays" (δεικνὺς σῆμα βροτοῖσιν· ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαί, *Il.* 13.244). So these renderings of Zeus, whether large or small, are shining figures hurling shining signs—missiles of meaning—into the space of the beholder.[37] Like the Tübingen runner, moreover, they combine flat, graphic profiles with projecting frontal views, including an outstretched (and unnaturally elongated) arm. On the one hand, this pose reiterates the narrative theme, obtruding into the surrounding space just as the incipient action (throwing, running) forever promises to do. On the other hand, it can resolve into a flat silhouette, with minimal depth cues. These shifting configurations are arguably more apparent in a figurine like the Tübingen runner than in a large-scale work, insofar as even a slight change in the beholder's position can produce entirely different views on a very small object.[38] The resulting combination of three-dimensionality and flatness, extroversion and withdrawal, is essential to the evocation of a radiant alterity that strikes the beholder and yet is invariably *elsewhere*.

Wonder

The Greek word *thauma*, "wonder," captures this doubleness; Hephaistos, as we have seen, identifies *thauma* as the desired reaction to his handiwork.[39] The term generally suggests a disorienting conjunction of incompatibles (which should not be confused with paradox, still less with problems to be solved). It is also a key term in discussions of handicraft before Plato. Homer, for instance, uses the phrase *thauma idesthai*, "a wonder to behold for itself and oneself," exclusively of works of craft.[40] Examples include the spinning wheel of Hera's chariot, the shining armor of Rhesos, the tripods of Hephaistos, and the armor of Peleus and Achilleus.[41] These artifacts are themselves strangely betwixt and between: they partake of a dazzling and radiant otherness even as they are mere possessions, things to hold and use. Hesiod's Pandora takes this doubleness to an extreme, at once inviting and radiant, a gift and a snare, bedecked with *thaumata*.[42] As with Hephaistos, so with mortals: the inducement of wonder and the creation of wonderful works of craft were the practical goals of Greek artisans.[43]

Wonders tend to be dazzlingly bright, collapsing distance while establishing it; to appear suddenly or to move with exceeding speed, converting absence abruptly into presence; to produce an effect of representational vividness while being conspicuously works of craft and skill; to be overtly alien or otherworldly while at the same time serving as useful equipment. Figural representations are particularly apt to be wonderful because their perception involves simultaneous awareness of depictive content and material support. A good example comes from the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey*, in which the poet describes a brooch belonging to Odysseus:

> πάροιθε δὲ δαίδαλον ἦεν·
> ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἐλλόν,
> ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
> ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
> αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι. (*Od.* 19.227-31)
>
> The front part of it was artful: a hound held a dappled fawn in his forepaws, gazing on it as it struggled; and all were wonderstruck at it, how, although they were golden, the hound gazed at the fawn and strangled it, and the fawn struggled with his feet as he tried to escape.[44]

What induces wonder is neither illusion nor fidelity to appearances but a combination of vivid, lifelike effect with an awareness of the material support of the image (in this case, gold).[45] Odysseus's brooch is, in this regard, exemplary: its exploitation of what has been called the "twofoldness" of depiction is essential to the Greek experience of wonder before works of craft.[46]

This quality of in-between-ness has roots in the very grammar of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As Raymond Prier has emphasized, the word *thauma* does not simply name a class of entity in the world, but also a state of mind: in Greek as in English, one wonders at wonders.[47] The noun shuttles between beholder and beheld, the wonder that you see and the wonder that you feel. The phrase *thauma idesthai* brings out the point. The verb *idesthai*, "to behold," is an infinitive of the middle voice, for which there is no equivalent in English. Neither active nor passive, the middle voice usually indicates that the grammatical subject is acting on itself or for itself. An infinitive, however, does not have a well-defined grammatical subject (it is technically a verbal noun); in the phrase *thauma idesthai*, therefore, the subject could be either the wonder itself or the beholder. Hence the laborious translation "a wonder to see for itself and oneself," which makes the duality explicit. A *thauma idesthai* exists in the grammatical middle even as it occupies a phenomenological "middle" between the beholding eye "over here" and the radiant entity "over there." Wonders, in short, are not quite *objects* at all: they are constitutively "in between." Exactly insofar as they do not "fit in," they disrupt ordinary comportment, and thereby expose background conditions of intelligibility that usually pass unremarked.

Locative Lights

Of particular interest for present purposes, however, is the "spatiality" of wonder: the way in which these radiant works establish relations of distance and nearness so as to constitute certain regions as their vicinities, environs, or surroundings. An especially vivid statement of the locative power of light comes in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, when Achilleus finally shows himself before the Trojans. The passage is worth quoting in full:

> αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὦρτο Διῒ φίλος· ἀμφὶ δ᾽ Ἀθήνη
> ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ᾽ αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν,
> ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δῖα θεάων
> χρύσεον, ἐκ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ δαῖε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν.
> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ᾽ ἵκηται,
> τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου, τὴν δήϊοι ἀμφιμάχωνται,
> οἵ τε πανημέριοι στυγερῷ κρίνονται Ἄρηϊ
> ἄστεος ἐκ σφετέρου· ἅμα δ᾽ ἠελίῳ καταδύντι
> πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ὑψόσε δ᾽ αὐγὴ
> γίγνεται ἀΐσσουσα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι,
> αἴ κέν πως σὺν νηυσὶν ἄρεω ἀλκτῆρες ἵκωνται·
> ὣς ἀπ᾽ Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ᾽ ἵκανε·

> But Achilleus, the beloved of Zeus, rose up, and Athena swept about his powerful shoulders the fluttering aegis; and she, the divine among goddesses, about his head circled a golden cloud, and kindled from it a flame all-shining.

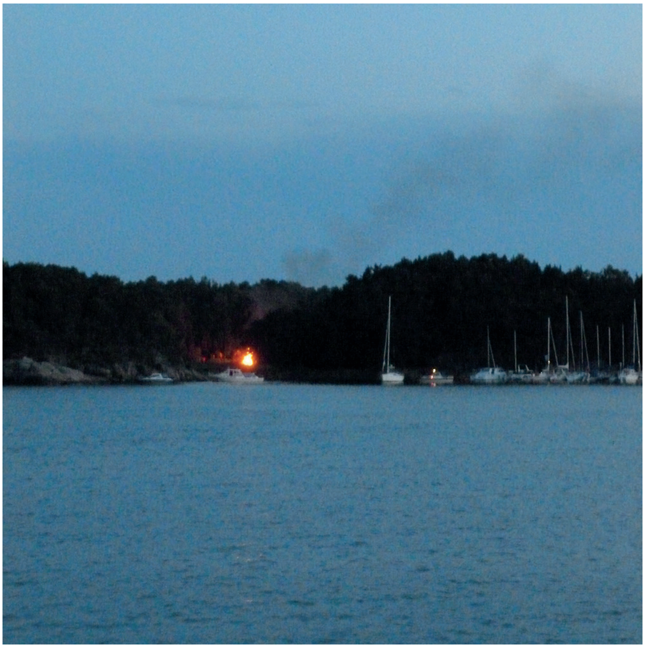


Fig. 2.17. Smoke and a beacon fire rising from a far-away island at sunset.

> As when smoke goes up into the high air from a town from an island far away, with enemies fighting about it who all day long are in the hateful division of Ares fighting from their own town, but as the sun goes down beacon fires blaze out one after another, so that the glare goes pulsing high for men of the neighboring islands to see it for themselves, in case they might come over in ships to fend off the enemy; so from the head of Achilleus the blaze shot into the bright air. (*Il.* 18.203-14, trans. Lattimore, modified)

The Trojans react to this brilliant sign with *ekplēxis*, "astonishment": "The charioteers were dumbfounded when they saw the unwearied dangerous fire blazing above the head of great-hearted Peleion kindled by the goddess gray-eyed Athena" (ἡνίοχοι δ' ἔκπληγεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἀκάματον πῦρ | δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος | δαιόμενον· τὸ δὲ δαῖε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, *Il.* 18.225-27, trans. Lattimore, modified). The fiery hero is in the same category as a thunderbolt or a brilliant work of craft.

This passage complements the description of Achilleus's run across the Trojan plain. In each case, the poet evokes a light flaring in the distance, the effect of which is to locate the beholder relative to a gleaming alterity.

Achilleus is a "placeholder" in the most literal sense: when kindled, he becomes the basic point of reference for spatial relations in the vicinity, the latter defined as the range within which the flame can be seen. Everything appears relative to the bright hero, whether the poet focalizes his narrative through the eyes of Priam or those of nameless people watching from neighboring islands (fig. 2.17). Other marvels, other works of craft, are no less locative. The Tübingen runner, the Tyrannicides, and the Zeus of Artemision emphasized the oncoming, impending rush of the brilliant *sēma*, but even stationary brilliance can orchestrate spatial relations so conspicuously as to unsettle ordinary comportment: that is, to *astonish*.

Akeratos

One might compare this distant fire to a memorial of the late sixth century on the island of Thasos (figs. 2.18, 2.19). A circular tower of local marble, about 3.45 m tall in its original state and 4.88 m across, it overlooks one of the loveliest bays on the island, about 8 km as the crow flies from Thasos town.[48] A late Archaic inscription, still visible today, reads:

> [Ἀ]κηράτο ε[ἰ]μὶ μνῆμα τõ Φ[ρασ]ιηρίδο,
> κεῖμαι δ' ἐπ' [ἄ]κρο ναυσ[τ]ά‖[θ]μο σωτήριον
> νηυσίν τε κα[ὶ] ṿαύτηισιν· ἀλλὰ χαίρετ[ε].

> I am the memorial of Akeratos son of Phrasierides. I am set on the height above the anchorage as a deliverance for ships and sailors; but farewell.[49]

Akeratos is known from two other inscriptions on Thasos. A dedication to Herakles from the city center names him as the only man to have held an archonship over Thasians and Parians at the same time and attests that "he passed amongst the tribes of men on many embassies for the city."[50] The name also appears, complete with patronymic, on a fourth-century archon list.[51] Although the exact nature of Akeratos's magistracy remains controversial, he appears to have been a well-traveled Thasian statesman with a particular involvement in overseas affairs.[52]

The inscription on Akeratos's tower suggests a mortuary function; its opening line would not have been out of place accompanying a tombstone or a statue.[53] Pouilloux adduces an epitaph of the seventh century for an associate of the poet Archilochos that has a nearly identical opening line: "I am the memorial of Glaukos son of Leptines, | the sons of Brentes set me in place" (Γλαύϙο εἰμὶ μνῆμα τõ Λεπτίνεω· | ἔθεσαν δέ με οἱ Βρέντεω

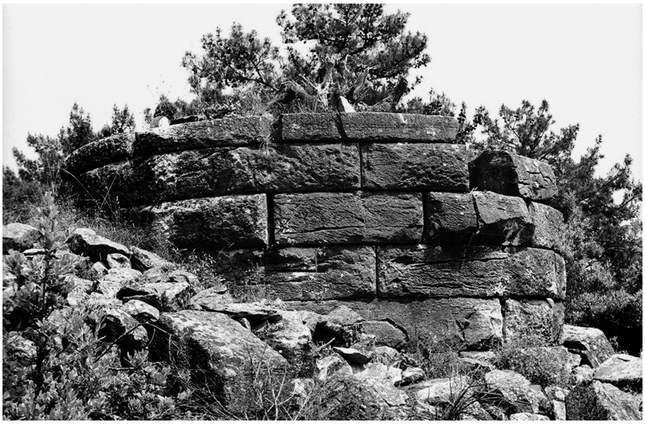
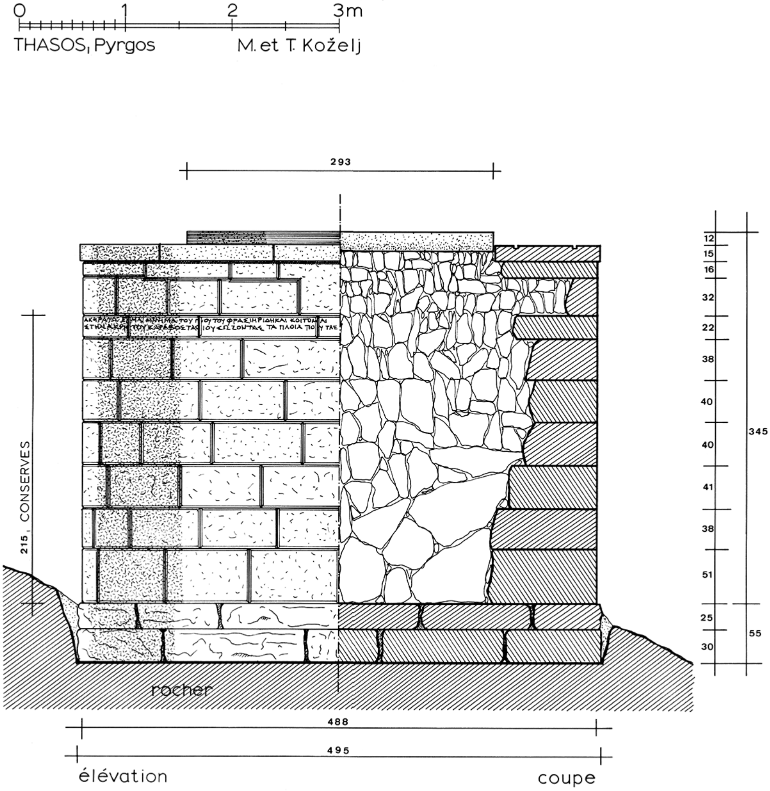


Fig. 2.18. Thasos: tower of Akeratos. Ca. 530-520 BCE. Photo courtesy Ecole française d'Athènes.


0
1
2
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THASOS, Pyrgos
M. et T. Koželj
293
215, CONSERVES
12
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25
30
345
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rocher
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495
élévation
coupe

Fig. 2.19. Thasos: tower of Akeratos, elevation. Ca. 530-520 BCE. Drawing courtesy Ecole française d'Athènes.

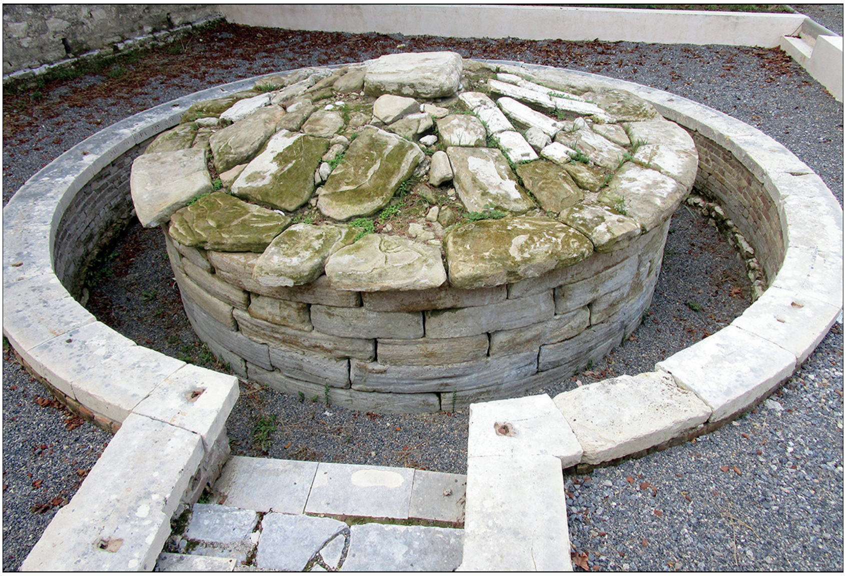


Fig. 2.20. Corfu: cenotaph of Menekrates (the surrounding parapet is modern). Ca. 600 BCE. Photo: Milona1072 (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

παῖδες, *SEG* 14-565).[54] This latter inscription, a prominent landmark in Thasos town itself, must have been known to Akeratos and the builders of his memorial and may have influenced their wording, albeit it is far from unique.[55] On the other hand, a built tomb would be highly unusual for this period, and *mnēmata* are by no means exclusively sepulchral; the tower itself has not been fully excavated.[56] An additional possibility is that the tower was a cenotaph, perhaps after a disaster at sea.[57] A close analogue, both for the form of the monument and the stature of the deceased, is the *sēma* of Menekrates son of Tlasias, a native of Oiantheia in Lokris and a *proxenos* of the Corcyreans.[58] Lost at sea at the end of the seventh century, Menekrates was honored on Corcyra with a circular monument much like the tower of Akeratos, funded by the *damos* of the town and by his own brother (fig. 2.20). The *mnēma* of Akeratos might have served a similar function, a marble counterpart to the poem that Archilochos composed to commemorate his brother-in-law when he, too, drowned at sea.[59] Certainly the construction of "a deliverance for ships and sailors" would be a fitting way to commemorate a local worthy known for his traveling.[60]

The lighthouse of Akeratos reduces the *mnēma* or *sēma* to its bare essentials: a bright material (marble or *marmaros lithos*, literally "shining stone"), and a radiance that works from afar to mark the presence of a departed man.[61] Yet it also has clear epic overtones. On the one hand, it literalizes the image of the φῶς, the "bright light" that shines out at or for mortals as a beacon of salvation, as when Penelope calls Telemachos her "sweet light" of deliverance (γλυκερὸν φάος).[62] For Euripides, Achilleus himself is a Ἑλλάδι φῶς, "a light at/for the Hellenes," when the Nereids bring him armor from Hephaistos (Euripides, *Elektra* 449): the phrase opens an ekphrasis of the shield that rivals Homer's own, as if to underscore the connection between Achilleus as salvific light and crafted things. Just so, the beacon of Akeratos is a great light at or for the Thasians and "the tribes of men," a lithified metaphor made of marble. On the other hand, the *mnēma* equally evokes the tomb of Achilleus himself, set "on a jutting promontory there by the wide Hellespont, so that it can be seen afar from out on the water by men now alive and those to be born in the future" (ἀκτῇ ἔπι προὐχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, | ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη | τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται, *Od.* 24.82–84, trans. Lattimore), as well as the tomb that Hektor envisions for one of his victims, "a sign beside broad Hellespont" (σῆμα . . . ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, *Il.* 7.86) that will bring his name to the minds of mariners.[63] Even more apt, perhaps, is the Dog's Sign or *Kunos sēma*, a tumulus crowning a promontory on the Hellespont that was identified as the tomb of Hekabe: as Euripides tells the story, the queen was transformed into a dog "with fiery glances" on the outward journey from Troy, before plunging to her death from the masthead.[64] Another cenotaph for the drowned, the Dog's Sign brings us round full circle to the baleful Dog of Orion, to which Homer likened Achilleus as he ran shining on the plain of Troy—perhaps even to the golden dog, gazing at the struggling fawn on Odysseus's brooch, *thauma idesthai*.

A consistent network of associations unites all these bright entities, whether they belong in graveyards, sanctuaries, marketplaces, or promontories. Beaming out from Thasos, the tower of Akeratos sends a "great light" of salvation to ships at sea. It is thereby like Achilleus when he shines like a beacon fire from a distant island, like the tombs of the heroes by the Hellespont, like the Dog's Sign and the Dog Star, which are in turn like the shield of Achilleus and other *thaumata*, like the radiant runner on the plain of Troy, like the "great light" shining at and for the Athenians in their agora, like Zeus hurling his bright *sēma*, or like a miniature man of shining bronze, poised to dash. By virtue of being τηλεφανής, "far-seen" or "apparent over distance" (*Od.* 24.83), all of these monuments are conspicuously,

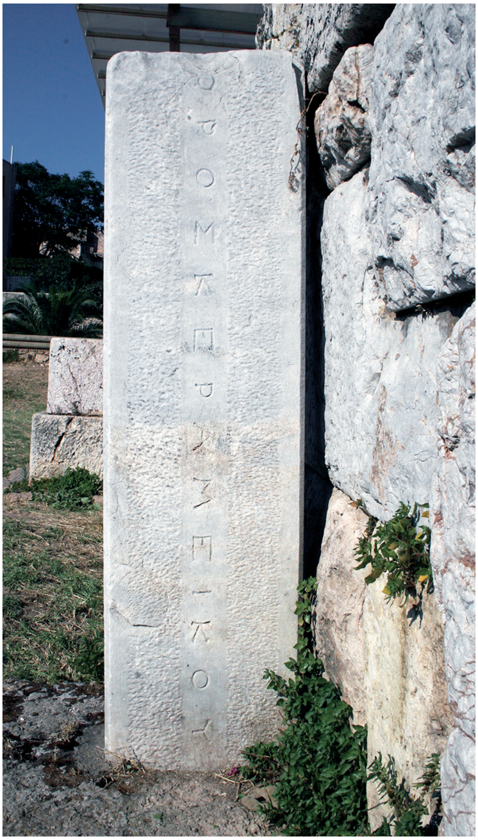


Fig. 2.21. Athens: Kerameikos, boundary stone (*horos*) flanking the Dipylon gate on its southwest site. The text reads, "Boundary of the Kerameikos." Modern replica in situ of an original of the fourth century BCE. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-NC-SA-4.0).

even obstrusively "locative": they establish and coordinate relations of propinquity and distance in their wider vicinities. Sheer brilliance positions everything roundabout relative to the light source. It *orients*.

Not all landmarks are wonderful. The humble boundary stone by the roadside or the *terma* in a palaistra may organize space in its vicinity, but it is not thereby a *thauma idesthai* (fig. 2.21).[65] What elicits wonder is a certain conspicuousness, and a certain doubleness, in the acquittal of this function.

When a *horos* becomes a sign or a memorial, then it may cease to be a *horos* and become a herm. The Athenian tyrant Hipparchos is said to have placed hermai around the Attic countryside to mark the midway point

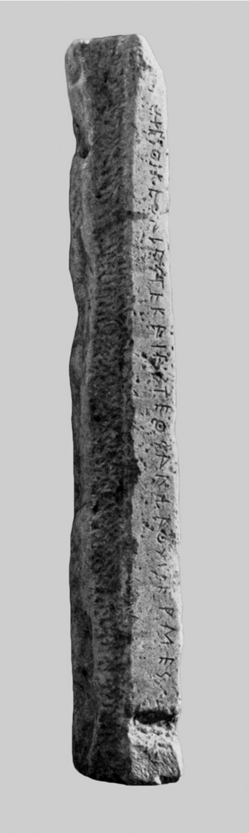


Fig. 2.22. Koropi (Attica): herm of Hipparchos. Marble, ca. 528-514 BCE. Brauron, Museum. Photo after Peek 1935 (the stone has since been damaged).

between the altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora and each of the outlying demes. The only surviving example, from the vicinity of modern Koropi, has been trimmed for reuse as a building block and lost both its head and its phallos.[66] An inscription on one side identifies the herm as a *mnēma* of Hipparchos; a second inscription, on the other side, reads, "At the midpoint of Kephale and the town, radiant Hermes . . ." ([ἐ]ν μhέσοι Κεφαλε̃ς τε καὶ ἄστεος ἀγλαὸς hερμε̃ς) (fig. 2.22).[67] We shall encounter this herm again in chapter 4, to see its place in a broader Athenian system of territorialization. For now, what matters is the analogy between the *mnēma* of Hipparchos and that of Akeratos: both mark or define spaces, and both do so by means of light. Made of shining marble, the "radiant Hermes" is visible from afar, like a daytime beacon, and thereby provides a point of reference for organizing the landscape. A *marmaros lithos* becomes *aglaos* when it becomes even quasi- or semi-iconic. Depiction lights it up.

It is a special virtue of works of craft, in this world, to bring out the differential relations by which we navigate our surroundings: to make these background conditions conspicuous, ἀρίζηλος. A bright monument, for instance, can at once assert and collapse distance, thereby drawing attention to the cues and prompts by which such relations get established in the first place; it can reveal spatial and temporal environments as fields of affordances, aversions, attractions, and lines of force, show how the quotidian space of a public square is alive with narrative and ideological energies.[68] Such works disrupt ordinary modes of comportment: overwhelming, obtruding, dazzling, arousing, impinging. In a literary-critical idiom one might want to say that they "estrange" ordinary spatial relations, as of nearness and distance, that one usually takes for granted.[69] In more concrete terms, however, it seems more accurate to say that space is *the plastic medium of wonder.*

The Narrativization of Space

We have seen that a lighthouse, a hero, a statue, and a stele can all be *mnēmata*, *sēmata*, or *thaumata*. These works orchestrate space, yet they do not necessarily do so in the same fashion. Orientation can take many forms. Insofar as it is nonfigural, for instance, Akeratos's tower has no specifically narrative content: it commemorates a life, but it does not tell a story.[70] Whatever space it organizes is in every way identical to the ordinary space that "ships and sailors" occupy; this continuity is integral, after all, to its function as a lighthouse. It is different with figural sculpture. A statue can organize space just like a beacon does; a bright kouros by the roadside can be as conspicuous and commanding as a fire on a distant island. But figural sculpture also does—or can do—something more. It can create what is sometimes called a "virtual space," or, on analogy with theater, a "diegetic space."[71] The space around a sculpture, for example, can be part of the depictive content of the work. Beholders can see the space around it in a *particular* way; they might, for example, see the space as a potential field of action for a depicted figure. The Severe style exploits this resource by showing figures who seem to throw things or run directly into their environs: the Tyrannicides, the Zeus of Artemision, and the Tübingen figurine all exemplify this tendency. These works do not just engage dramatically with the spaces around them: they *narrativize* those spaces, recruit them on behalf of their own depictive content.

A sculpture's diegetic space is typically underdetermined. It is not laid down in advance where it ends: how far away from the Tyrannicides do you have to go to be completely safe from their impending charge, for their "great light" to flicker out? Architectural sculpture includes frames, like the geisa of a pediment, that establish some provisional distinctions. Yet Classical sculptors frequently violate them: figures roll or fall out of pedimental spaces, as on the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina, or are cropped, as on the east pediment of the Parthenon (figs. 2.23, 2.24). A limit exists precisely in order to be trespassed. Diegetic space is likewise impure, even composite, if only because it invariably coincides with a stretch of regular old everyday space.[72] Of the Tyrannicides it would be overliteral to say that they need to watch where they are going, lest they trip when running off the edge of their pedestal: wherever Harmodios and Aristogeiton may be heading, they do not need to worry about *that*. If these statues affect anyone, however, it is the beholder who stands before that very pedestal. Diegetic and extradiegetic spaces interfuse: a statue walks in two worlds, its own and our own.

It is important not to be too prescriptive about any of this: sometimes a statue can seem to command its environment; other times it may recede into the background; different people can have different understandings at the same time, in the same conditions. Space is improvisatory, depicted space even more so; facility in such matters is one of the ingrained skills of social life, like knowing how to behave in a theater, at a banquet, or at a sacrifice. Wittgenstein called it "knowing one's way about," which nicely captures the spatial dimension of unreflective comportment.[73] Just so, the language of paradox and problem-solving—which features prominently in modern discussions of these matters—is almost always inapt. Wonder may have been the "only beginning" of philosophy, as Plato claimed, but it was not itself "theoretical"; there is no reason to suppose that it took the logical form of a self-canceling proposition. Negotiating the composite spaces of an agora, a sanctuary, or a graveyard was very different from forming hypotheses or engaging in if-then deliberation.[74]

Early Classical sculpture often thematizes this doubleness and disjunction. On the one hand, poses and gestures project assertively outward: where Archaic figures are by and large self-contained, Classical ones splay, encroach, and impinge. On the other hand, the narrative content of the images consists, almost entirely, in a dramatic movement from "over there" to "over here." The actions of the Tübingen runner and the Zeus of Arte-

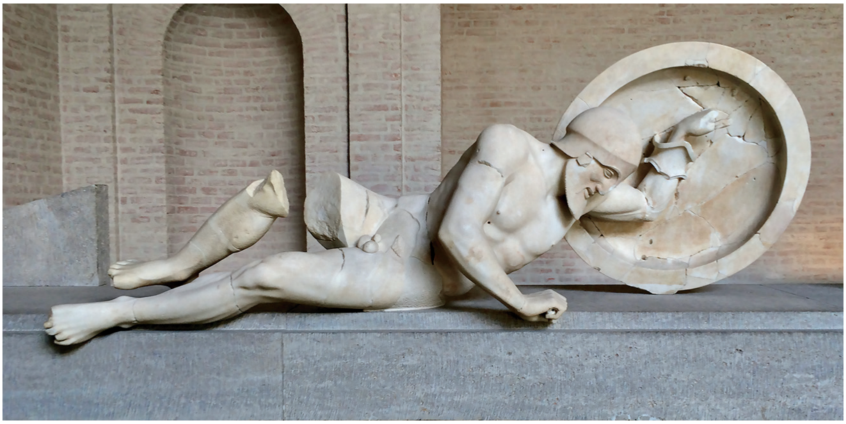


Fig. 2.23. Aegina: temple of Aphaia, east pediment. Dying warrior projecting over geison. Marble, ca. 470s BCE. Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glypothek. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

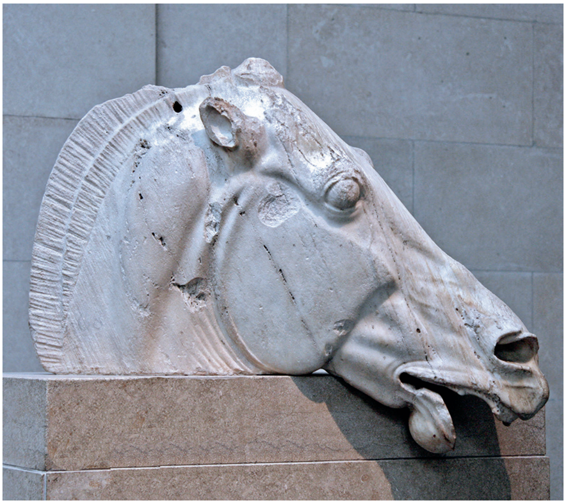


Fig. 2.24. Athens: Parthenon, east pediment. Chariot team of Selene, cropped head of a horse projecting over geison. Marble, 447-432 BCE. London, British Museum. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

mision are generalized, unmoored from any particular story; there is nothing to the former but incipient forward motion, nothing to the latter but a commanding gesture and the implicit path of the lightning bolt. Even the Tyrannicides group, with its far greater specificity of action, pares its story down to a headlong charge, infinitely suspended. Such work narrativizes its surroundings in a particularly insistent, even confrontational manner. It thereby foregrounds the mutual implication of diegetic and extradiegetic space.

Archaic Groups: Beyond Seriality

Sculptural groups present additional opportunities. The topic has received extensive discussion, notably in book-length treatments by Chrissula Ioakimidou and Helga Bumke.[75] Yet the definition of a "group" turns out to be complex: the category is in many ways an artifact of the scholarly mania for taxonomy. As we shall see, a shared base, or a single commission, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the status of a group. Our concern, however, is not taxonomic but situational: the use of multiple figures to articulate and manipulate spatial relations. To that end, what follows is not a comprehensive survey but an attempt to describe the range of possibilities by means of some case studies.

Archaic sculpture was often serial. A primary form of seriality was the "paratactic" row of more or less homogenous figures; the simplest examples combine multiple iterations of a single type, whether on a single base or several.[76] The Naxian lions on Delos, dating to the later sixth century BCE, give an idea of how such groups appeared (fig. 2.25).[77] There were many such monuments, albeit few so well preserved. A similar row of sphinxes overlooked the Sacred Way leading from Miletos to Didyma (fig. 2.26); they guarded a small sanctuary space that featured another row of seated, under life-sized figures, this time on a curving base.[78] Anthropomorphic figures could be no less repetitive. Sometime around 500 BCE, for instance, the Knidians of the Lipari Islands dedicated a row of twenty statues of Apollo at Delphi, each corresponding to a ship captured from the Etruscans; given the date, these figures can only have been kouroi, standing aloof from their surroundings and from one another.[79] They seem to have stood on a long marble base atop the polygonal retaining wall that supported the temple platform: we should envision a row of evenly spaced, more or less identical figures of shining bronze overlooking the Sacred Way, gifts of the "oil-bright," or *liparoi*, islands. This tradition of serial, isolated figures continued into the fourth century and beyond; it was not an "archaism" to be transcended, but an available option into the fourth century, one of the basic ways in which Greek sculpture could acquit its function of orientation.

Kouroi and other archaic statues typically do not engage their environment by means of narrative. The Delian lions may roar or snarl, but they

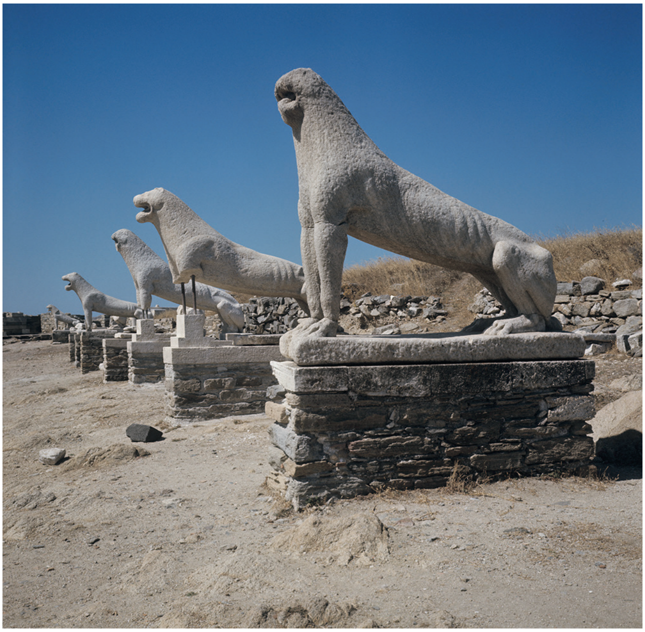


Fig. 2.25. Delos: lions dedicated by the Naxians. Marble, after mid-sixth century BCE. Photo: SEF / Art Resource, NY.

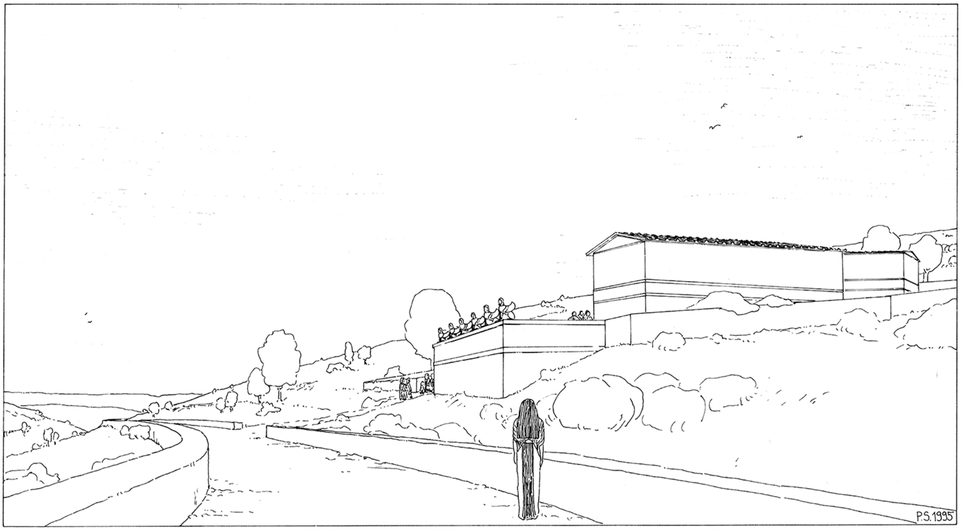


Fig. 2.26. Kokkinolakka: cult place on the Sacred Way to the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, reconstruction drawing of Archaic phase. Note the row of sphinxes on the enclosure wall overlooking the roadway; inside the enclosure were seated figures on a semicircular base. Drawing by Peter Schneider, after Tuchelt et al. 1996.

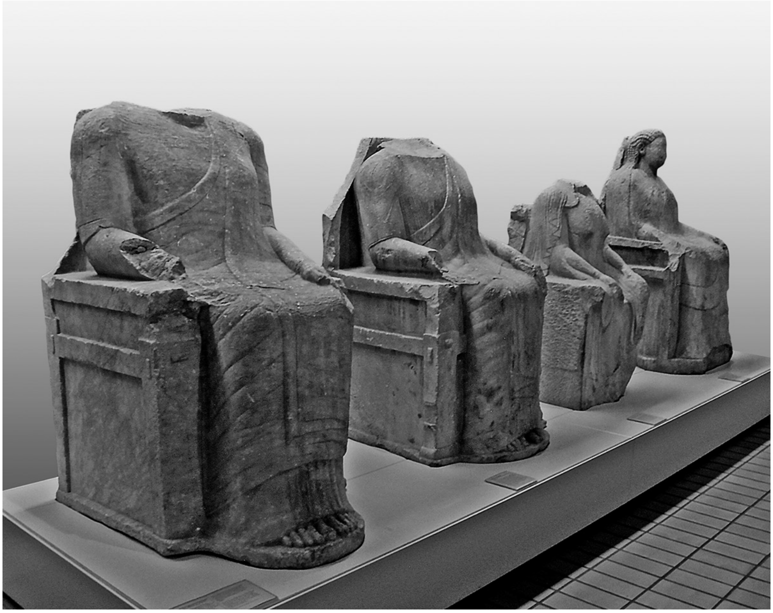


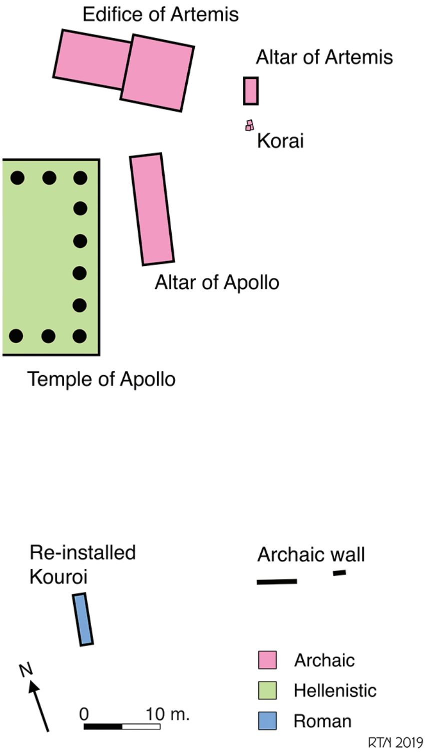
Fig. 2.27. Didyma: statues from the Sacred Way by the entrance of the sanctuary of Apollo. Marble, ca. 570-530 BCE. London, British Museum. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

are completely self-contained, and the same was no doubt true of the Liparian kouroi. All the same, they "sculpt" space. The Naxian lions, for instance, amount to a row of elementary depth cues, a series of repeating silhouettes placed in such a way as to dramatize overlapping and diminution. Of course, the language of perceptual psychology is anachronistic; better to say that the lions make relations of near and far, "over here" and "over there," vividly apparent (which may be why tourists love to photograph them: they look "cool"). In such cases it is often light, more than pose or dramatic action, that establishes any interface, as the statue's brilliance can strike the eye from afar even while its pose is aloof or disengaged.

It would, however, be misleading to suggest that the serial row was the only option in the Archaic period. In some cases our view may be skewed by later interventions. At Didyma, the famous seated statues of the "Branchiadai" seem likewise to have been arrayed in a row along the Sacred Way ex post facto; their original location is unknown, and the style of the statues suggests that they were erected over the course of several decades (fig. 2.27).[80] At Samos, two of the four dedications bearing the name of Cheramyes were placed side by side on a base during the Hellenistic period; their original disposition is, again, unknown.[81] In the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Klaros, up to five kouroi, clearly representing separate dedications, were apparently reinstalled during the Roman period on a single, long base: thus freestanding figures became a serial row.[82] All of these arrangements are retrospective archaisms; Archaic reality was more complicated.[83]

An ensemble elsewhere in the Klaros sanctuary suggests a different approach.[84] Close to the late Archaic altar of Artemis, a socle consisting of two large blocks of limestone supported a pair of korai, each on a separate base (figs. 2.28, 2.29). The entire installation seems to belong to the second third of the sixth century BCE.[85] One of these korai stood on a low, square base of sandstone, the other on a slightly taller, cylindrical one of marble. The feet of the kore on the cylindrical base were found *in situ*, broken above the ankles; the body has not been found, but must have been of a familiar East Greek type. This kore faced northwest, in the direction of the nearby cult building of Artemis; the right foot is forward of the left, as though dancing. The square base, meanwhile, has an elliptical cutting that perfectly matches a kore found in the immediate vicinity (fig. 2.30). This maiden, however, faced *southwest*, toward the temple of Apollo. More precisely, her feet did, for the statue exhibits an abrupt clockwise twist at about knee level: the upper body faced roughly west, in the general direction of Artemis, but still out of alignment with its neighbor.[86]

Inscribed on this twisting kore is a dedication: “Timonax son of Theodoros dedicated me to Artemis on the occasion of his first priesthood” (Τιμῶνάξ με ἀνέθηκε | ὁ Θεοδώρō τἠρτέμιδι τὸ πρῶτον ἰρεύσας).[87] This inscription matches one found on a kouros near the Apollo temple: “Timonax son of Theodoros dedicated me to Apollo on the occasion of his first priesthood” (Τιμῶναξ ὁ Θεοδώρō ἀνέθηκε | τὠπόλλωνι τὸ πρῶτον ἰερεύ|σας) (fig. 2.31).[88] In publishing the inscriptions, Michel Lejeune argued that despite some differences of orthography, both commemorated a single priesthood for the double cult of Apollo and Artemis.[89] The strong implication is that the two statues were a matched set and were intended to be seen as such; other examples of such twinned dedications have been found at Samos, Didyma, Delphi, and elsewhere.[90] Although the original placement of the kouros is not known, in all likelihood it stood near the altar of Apollo, just 15 m distant from the kore (fig. 2.28).[91] Thus each of Timonax’s dedications will have been easily visible from the position of the other.


Edifice of Artemis
Altar of Artemis
Korai
Altar of Apollo
Temple of Apollo
Re-installed Kouroi
Archaic wall
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Hellenistic
Roman
RTN 2019

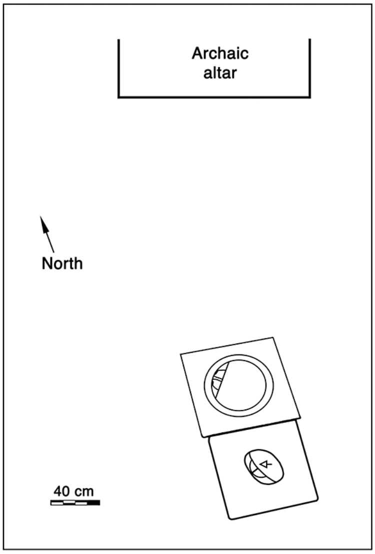
Archaic altar
North
40 cm

Fig. 2.28. (*left*) Klaros: sanctuary of Apollo, schematic plan showing relative position of altars, temples, korai, and kouroi. The Archaic temple of Apollo must underlie the Hellenistic phase. Drawing by R. Neer, based on de La Genière and Jolivet 2003. *Fig. 2.29.* (*right*) Klaros: sanctuary of Apollo, schematic drawing of kore bases near altar of Artemis as originally positioned on their shared socle. Drawing by R. Neer, based on Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004.

The result is a complex field of influences, attractions, and repulsions. The two korai turn their backs on the main processional way through the sanctuary in order to face the deity whom they exist to please. Yet, even if they share a common socle and seem to have been installed at the same time, they scarcely comprise a group. Not only do they face different directions and stand on different bases, but the highly unusual torsion of Timonax's kore orients her at least partly to her "brother" to the south; Timonax's two *mnēmata* go together, just as Apollo and Artemis do. To the extent that Timonax's dedications read as a pair, while the korai do not, the sculptures have effectively manipulated their environment: the twisting kore is "nearer" to the kouros than she is to the dancing maiden by her side. In tandem, they delineate a little zone or region within which the signs of Timonax are

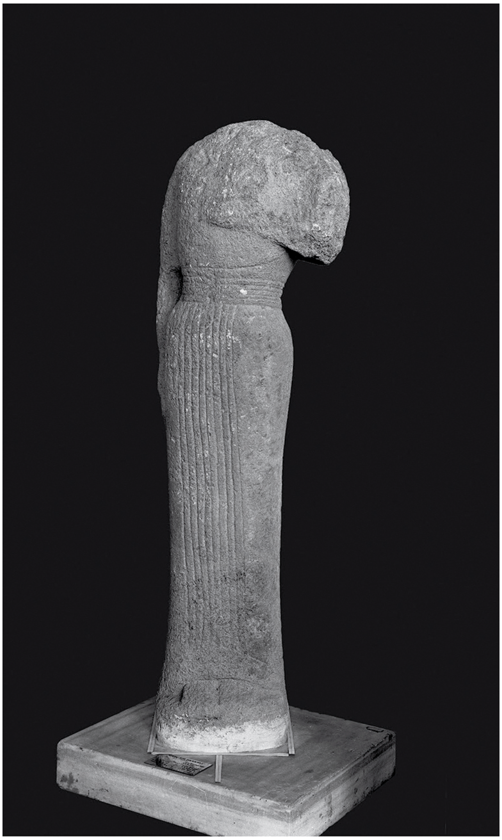

Fig. 2.30. Klaros: kore dedicated by Timonax to Artemis. Marble, ca. 560 BCE. This statue stood on the base in fig. 2.29. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 3708. Photo by G. Hellner, courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Smyrna-0058.

prominent, and thereby acquit the cardinal task of a commemorative offering. The phrase *perikalles agalma*, "a pleasing gift beautiful roundabout," which at Samos could be applied directly to a kore, seems perfectly suited to this mode of spatiality: the work of craft electrifies the space all around it, lights it up with its beauty, such that everything else is "peripheral."[92]

Olympia: Boundaries and Signs

Early Classical sculpture exploits narrative to similar ends. Curved bases are particularly effective; although not unknown in the Archaic period, they came to prominence during Pindar's heyday. On the one hand, the curvature produces a little enclosure or microenvironment that the beholder can

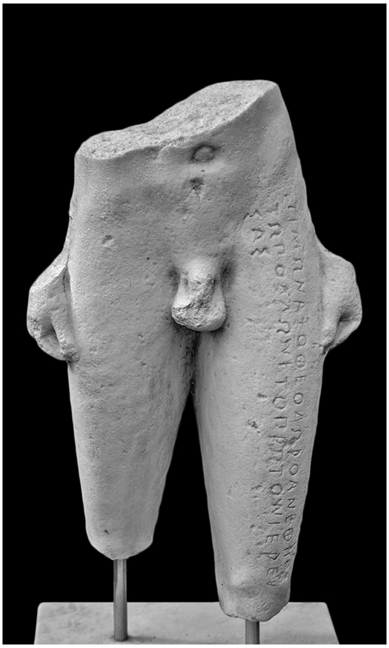

Fig. 2.31. Klaros: kouros dedicated by Timonax to Apollo. Modern cast of a marble original of ca. 560 BCE. Original: Selçuk, Museum, inv. KL S281. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

enter (literally or imaginatively); on the other, it creates potential sightlines and interactions betwixt and amongst widely separated statues. Two examples from Olympia exemplify the possibilities: a new "environmentalism" in Greek sculpture (figs. 2.32, 2.33). Both were erected during Pindar's lifetime, and there can be little doubt that he saw them with his own eyes.

Pausanias describes a dedication that the city of Apollonia in Illyria erected at Olympia to commemorate a victory over the city of Thronion in Abantis (fig. 2.34).[93] One of the most spectacular monuments on the site, it comprised thirteen oversized bronze figures on a semicircular base on the southern approach to the Altis; the statues are lost, but parts of the base survive. The sculptor was Lykios son of Myron of Eleutherai, who was active in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE and thereby provides an approximate date for the dedication of ca. 470-450 BCE. The theme was the combat of Achilleus and Memnon. At the apex of the arc was a trio of Zeus, Thetis, and Hēmera ("Day," instead of the more usual Eos, "Dawn"), the two mothers pleading for their sons; at either end, Achilleus and

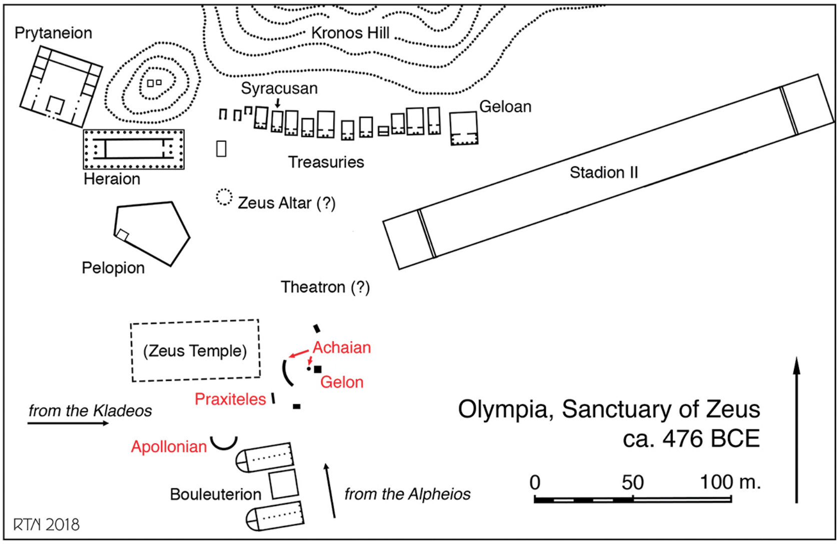
Prytaneion
Kronos Hill
Syracusan
Geloan
Heraion
Treasuries
Stadion II
Zeus Altar (?)
Pelopion
Theatron (?)
(Zeus Temple)
Achaian
Gelon
Praxiteles
from the Kladeos
Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus
ca. 476 BCE
Apollonian
0
50
100 m.
Bouleuterion
from the Alpheios
RTN 2018

Fig. 2.32. Olympia: plan of the Altis ca. 476 BCE. Drawing by R. Neer, based on a plan by H. R. Goette.

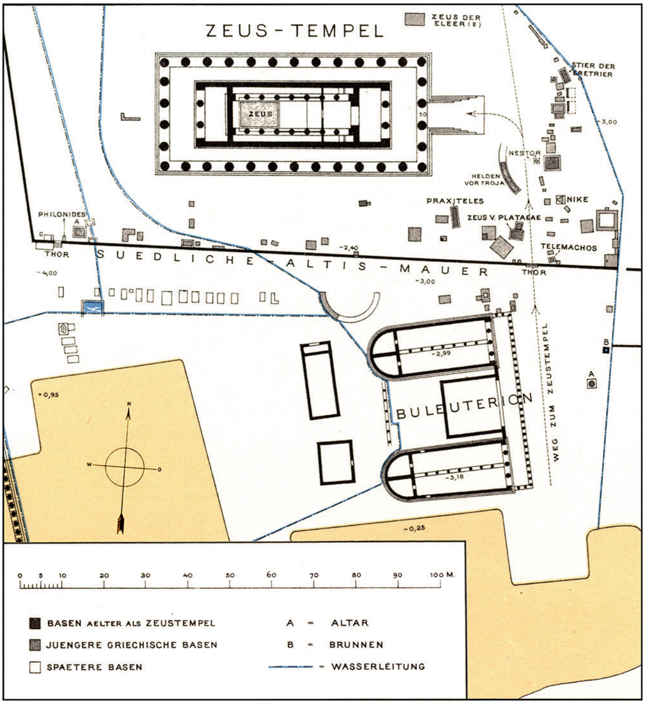
ZEUS-TEMPEL
ZEUS DER ELEER (?)
STIER DER ERETRIER
ZEUS
±0
-3,00
NESTOR
HELDEN VOR TROJA
NIKE
PRAXITELES
ZEUS V. PLATAEAE
PHILONIDES
A
THOR
TELEMACHOS
SUEDLICHE-ALTIS-MAUER
-2,40
THOR
-4,00
-3,00
-2,99
B
A
BULEUTERION
WEG ZUM ZEUSTEMPEL
+0,95
N
W
O
-3,18
-0,25
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 M.
BASEN AELTER ALS ZEUSTEMPEL
JUENGERE GRIECHISCHE BASEN
SPAETERE BASEN
A - ALTAR
B - BRUNNEN
WASSERLEITUNG

Fig. 2.33. Olympia: area to the east of the temple of Zeus, showing locations of Apollonian, Achaian, and other monuments relative to roadways. Drawing adapted from Curtius and Adler 1897, map 2.

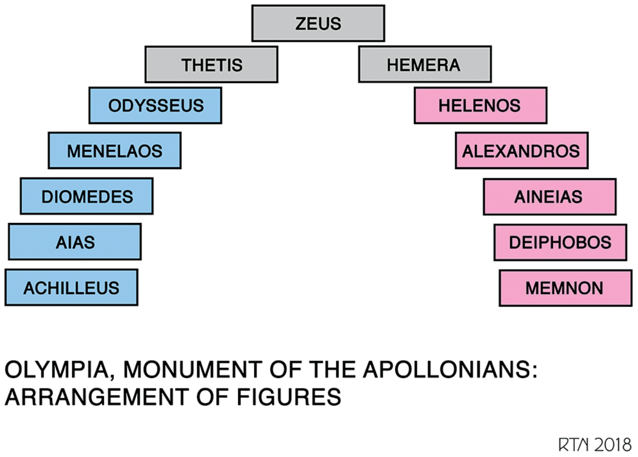
ZEUS
THETIS
HEMERA
ODYSSEUS
HELENOS
MENELAOS
ALEXANDROS
DIOMEDES
AINEIAS
AIAS
DEIPHOBOS
ACHILLEUS
MEMNON
OLYMPIA, MONUMENT OF THE APOLLONIANS: ARRANGEMENT OF FIGURES
RTN 2018

Fig. 2.34. Olympia: dedication of the Apollonians by Lykios son of Myron, schematic reconstruction of disposition of figures. Bronze figures on a continuous marble base. Second quarter of the fifth century BCE. Drawing by R. Neer adapted from Meyer 1983.

Memnon confronted one another across a distance of some 11 m; in between were four more antithetical pairs of heroes.[94] Pausanias emphasizes that the figures were ranged against one another (σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων), suggesting interaction from side to side even though the cuttings on the base suggest static poses. Zeus was the only unpaired figure, and confronted the viewer directly as he or she passed along the roadway.[95]

Pausanias saw an inscription under this central figure; the few fragments that survive verify his account.

Μνάματ’ Ἀπολλονίας ἀ⌊νακείμεθα τὰν ἐνὶ πόντοι⌋
⌊’Ι⌋ονίοι Φοῖβος ϝοίκι⌊σ’ ἀκερσεκόμας⌋·
⌊οἱ γ⌋ᾶ̣⌊ς τέ⌋ρ̣μ̣ᾱ̣θ̣’ ⌊ελόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα⌋
⌊ἔστασαν σὺν ⟨θε⟩οῖς ἐκ Θρονίο δεκάταν⌋.

As memorials of Apollonia we have been dedicated, which on the Ionian Sea Phoibos founded, the unshorn one.

The Apollonians, after seizing the *termata* of the land of Abantis, set these up with the help of the gods, a tithe from Thronion.

The letters were only about 3 cm tall and could scarcely have been legible from the roadside; in order to read them, the viewer will have had to pass into the semicircle. As often, Greek designers use signage to attract passersby, soliciting an approach by appealing to curiosity.[96]

Once inside, the curving base, rising to mid-thigh on an average Greek male of the Classical period, will have functioned as a parapet of sorts to carve off a little zone or region.[97] With looming figures of bronze on three sides, the enclosure must have been an imposing place, a charged zone between opposing cohorts of heroes and deities. As Helga Bumke observes, the diegetic space within this zone was composite: Achilleus and Memnon were notionally on the field of Troy, while Thetis, Hēmera, and Zeus were on Olympos, and the position of the other warriors was underdetermined (there is no mythological tradition of combat between some of the pairs, as Pausanias himself noted, and they need not have been bystanders at the duel).[98] The space was also stratified vertically: the size of the figures and the height of the base means that all interaction between the figures will have transpired literally over the viewer's head. The Apollonian monument was clearly designed to be an "immersive" experience, but the viewer always kept two feet on the literal ground—an observer forever outside (or, more precisely, underneath) the depicted scene.[99]

This extraordinary exploitation of volume, projection, and recession relates cogently to the monument's narrative thematics and its commemorative function. The epigram directly addresses the delineation of space and, in so doing, helps us to see what is at stake in this conglomeration. Its basic conceit is that the seizure (and, presumably, removal) of the boundary stones of the Abantian land corresponds to the emplacement (verb ἵστημι) of the commemorative statues at Olympia. The new *mnēmata* (memorials) supersede—hence are in some way equivalent to—the old *termata* (boundary stones).[100] The vocabulary evokes athletic contests, as befits Olympia: the word *terma* usually refers to the turning post in a stadion or a hippodrome, or to the mark set on the ground to record the throw of a discus (in this context it is interchangeable with σῆμα, "sign"; see *Od.* 8.192–96). In this case the sense is apparently of a limit or boundary, as at a frontier.[101] How, then, are statues like boundary stones?

Josiah Ober has shown that boundary stones were deeply embedded in matrices of power and authority; like performative utterances, they depended on felicitous conditions in order to work.[102] It is exactly because such stones instantiate sovereignty that the Athenian lawgiver Solon uses the image so insistently in his poetry, although naturally he employs the more usual word, *horos*. On the one hand, Solon's social reforms amount to a removal of *horoi* from the "black earth," γῆ μέλαινα (fr. 36.5-6 W); on the other, his efforts at mediation and establishment of new property classes made him a boundary stone himself ("But I set myself between them, like a boundary stone in the space between the spears," ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ | ὅρος κατέστην, fr. 37.9-10 W).[103] Solon figures sovereignty in concrete terms as the authority to lay down and uproot cardinal distinctions in an interstitial zone "between spears."

Zeus occupies exactly this position on the Apollonian monument: he intervenes quite literally between the spears of Greeks and Trojans, even as the inscription encourages us to see his statue as a substitute for the now-defunct boundary stones of Thronion. Although the sculptor, Lykios, was Athenian, we need not posit conscious reference to Solonian elegy in order to see a consistent set of concepts at work; these are stock motifs. Having seized the *termata* of the Abantian *ga*, just as Solon carried off the *horoi* from the black *gē* of Attica, the Apollonians celebrate with a spectacular evocation of "the allotting power of Zeus" (Διὸς αἶσα, Solon fr. 4.1-2 W). The monument shows his sovereignty radiating from Olympos to Troy in two great arcs, culminating in the opposed figures of Achilleus and Memnon, an extension all but unmatched in earlier Greek narrative sculpture. To this same end, it overlays multiple spaces, both diegetic and extradiegetic, across multiple dimensions (left and right, forward and backward, up and down): Troy, Olympos, Olympia, and the indeterminate space of the other heroes, all with open and improvised "boundaries." Confounding borders only to reestablish them is the work of the Apollonians and their monument alike.

Even more immersive was a monument that the Achaians commissioned from Onatas of Aegina in the second quarter of the fifth century (fig. 2.35).[104] The figures are lost, but Pausanias's description, in tandem with fragments of the base, permits a basic reconstruction. The theme was an episode from the seventh book of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 7.161-99) in which the Greeks draw lots to decide who will face Hektor. Nine heroes, "armed with spears and shields" (δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὡπλισμένοι, Paus. 5.25.8), stood on a gently curving base near the southeast corner of the Classical temple. Dedications crowded this area; their alignment suggests that an important north-south artery leading up from the Alpheios stream passed directly in front of the group. Remarkably, however, Onatas's composition spanned the roadway: some 7 m to the east of the curving base, hence on the other side of the path, stood a single column with Nestor casting the lots from a helmet.[105] Thus visitors will have walked amongst the heroes on their way to and from the shrine (fig. 2.36).[106]

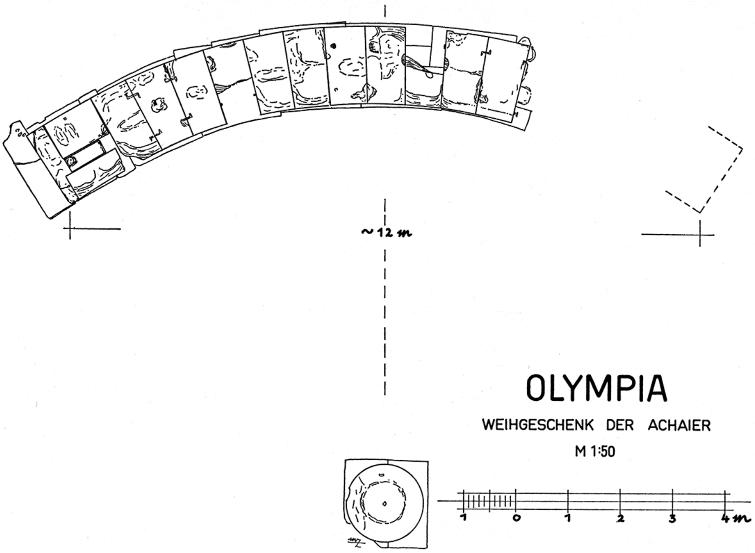
~12 m
OLYMPIA
WEIHGESCHENK DER ACHAIER
M 1:50
1
0
1
2
3
4 m

Fig. 2.35. Olympia: bases of the Achaian monument by Onatas of Aegina. Second quarter of the fifth century BCE. Drawing after Eckstein 1969.

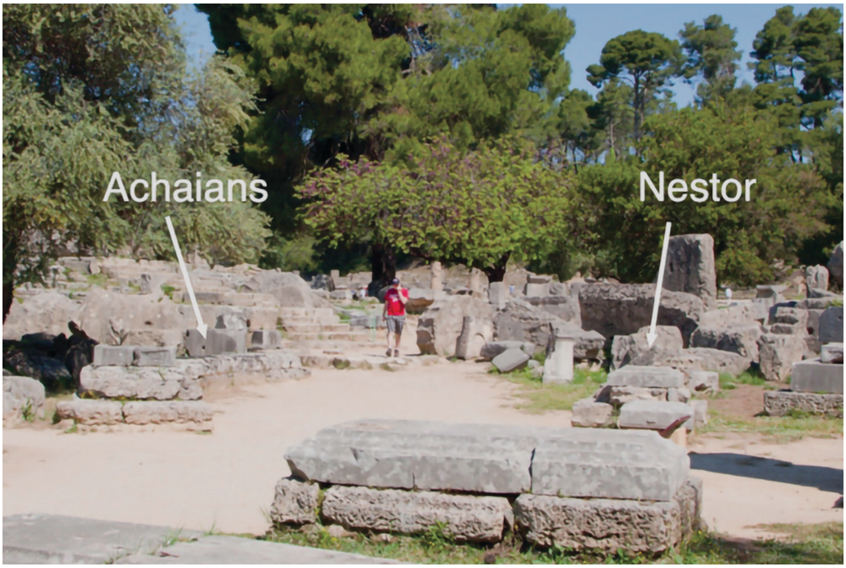
Achaians
Nestor

Fig. 2.36. Olympia: bases of the Achaian monument straddling the southern approach to the altar of Zeus. Work of Onatas of Aegina, second quarter of the fifth century BCE. The steps of the temple are visible in the background; at far right, part of the base of the chariot dedication of Gelon son of Deinomenes. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

Here the imbrication of diegetic and extradiegetic space becomes acute.[107] The Achaian monument does not merely exhort passersby to stop, as a gravestone might do; it does not just draw one in, as the Apollonian monument did; instead, it directly colonizes the roadway. The idea of linking statues on separate bases was not, in itself, new; nor was it new to link widely separated statues, as Timonax's dedications at Klaros attest. Certainly the tradition of matched sculptures flanking a roadway had deep roots in the Near East and Egypt, and precedent in Greece itself, in the gateway reliefs on the island of Thasos. What does seem new, at any rate in the Greek context, is precisely the *narrativization* of this relationship.[108] Standing on their curved base, the Greek heroes direct their attention toward Nestor, "like a great focal point," in Felix Eckstein's words.[109] As with the Apollonian monument, this interaction transpires over the heads of most passersby (the bases were 0.8–0.9 m high), so once again there is a stratification or palimpsesting of space.[110]

In this case, however, there is no Zeus to sort things out; instead the issue is *reading*. Homer stresses that each ballot bears the distinctive sign, or *sēma*, of a hero ("Each one marked the lot as his own," οἱ δὲ κλῆρον ἐσημήναντο ἕκαστος, *Il.* 7.175); it is necessary to recognize this sign and know it.[111] A herald shows the "winning" ballot to the nine men:

> οἱ δ᾽ οὐ γιγνώσκοντες ἀπηνήναντο ἕκαστος.
> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τὸν ἵκανε φέρων ἀν᾽ ὅμιλον ἁπάντῃ,
> ὅς μιν ἐπιγράψας κυνέῃ βάλε, φαίδιμος Αἴας,
> ἤτοι ὑπέσχεθε χεῖρ᾽, ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμβαλεν ἄγχι παραστάς,
> γνῶ δὲ κλήρου σῆμα ἰδών, γήθησε δ᾽ θυμῷ.
>
> Each man knew not the sign, and denied it, but as carrying it all through the great throng he showed it to that one who had marked it as his, and thrown it in the helmet, radiant Ajax, he held forth his hand, and the herald stood by him, and put the lot in it, and he saw his sign on the lot, and knew it, and his heart was gladdened. (*Il.* 7.185-89, trans. Lattimore, modified)

Pausanias, meanwhile, implies that the heroes carried shields with distinctive blazons.[112] This conceit is familiar from Aeschylus's roughly contemporary *Seven against Thebes* (467 BCE) and, later, Euripides's *Phoenician Women* (408 BCE): the shield blazons are themselves significant *sēmata*, a way to gloss and differentiate heroes.[113] Something of the sort was a practical necessity in this case; as Helga Bumke observes, there was no standing iconographic tradition for the representation of this episode, so the scene will not have been easy for most Greeks to parse. Pausanias specifies that just one of the nine figures (Agamemnon) bore a label, and gives an account of his own reasoning in identifying the hero with a rooster on his shield as Idomeneus.[114] Only Nestor, shaking the lots (*klēroi*) in his helmet, gave any narrative specificity to an otherwise inscrutable array of warriors: a key to the cipher.

Thus the Achaian monument will have juxtaposed two orders of signs. On one side of the road was a helmetful of invisible *klēroi*, each inscribed with a *sēma*, each requiring reading and recognition; on the other, an arc of nine radiant (cf. φαίδιμος, *Il.* 7.187) heroes arrayed with meaningful signs—*sēmata*, in effect, bearing *episēmata*.[115] Where the Zeus of Artemision threw a bright sign at the beholder, the Achaian monument enmeshes passersby in a charged field of more or less inscrutable marks. The task, as always, is to recognize and read—to bridge the gap between signs and referents, Nestor and the heroes, here literalized in the strip of roadway that intervenes between the two.

Like Timonax's paired dedications at Klaros, the Achaian monument uses statuary to delineate an intermediate zone between two points—and, moreover, to suture up that zone, stitching parataxis into syntax. Like the Apollonian monument, it uses *depicted* narrative to effect this suture: the story that connects the multiple figures is one that the statues themselves act out, as opposed to the sort of "backstory" or production history that a dedicatory inscription might provide. The narrative theme—in this case, sortition and signs—is the pretext for, and gloss upon, this orchestration of space. This narrative is literally secondary: a way to make sense of (or impose sense upon) an otherwise baffling assemblage that one would initially encounter from a distance while walking along the processional way: approaching, then passing between, and beneath, the brilliant, emblazoned *agalmata*. This progressive attainment of sense is not quite the same as the mute, stupified wonder with which we began this chapter. The thematic of *gnōsis* and *noēsis* constitutes the roadway as an interval that is precisely not aporetic ("without passage") but, on the contrary, a literal *poros* or path. Instead of inducing wonder, coming to know the *sēma* while seeing it, says Homer, gladdens the heart.[116]

The Milesian Singers

With the Achaian monument, Onatas used epic poetry as a resource for the orchestration of signs and space: mythos was a raw material. Choral song, however, can play a more active role in such situations, because it involves ambient bodies and literal choreography. A dialogue between sculpture, architecture, and poetry becomes possible, deepening and enriching the sorts of encounters that we have been discussing in relatively schematic terms on the basis of vestigial remains and brief epigrams.

An inscription from Miletos, known as the Molpoi Decree, provides a vivid example of such interaction.[117] The lengthy text describes protocols for a college of singers and dancers—the Molpoi—in a procession in honor of Apollo from Miletos to Didyma. It was long thought to be a Hellenistic creation, but Alexander Herda has shown it to be substantially late Archaic and Classical (specifically, composed between 525/24 BCE and 450/49 BCE), albeit with later modifications.[118] The decree is, therefore, in large part contemporary with the statues and monuments we have been discussing thus far. Much of it concerns a procession covering the eighteen kilometers between Miletos and Didyma (fig. 2.37).[119] Such processions, from the city to the edges of its territory, were not uncommon in early Greece: as François de Polignac argued in a classic study, they articulated the "bipolar" structure of many city-states.[120] What distinguishes the Molpoi Decree is its clear integration of sculpture into the process.

The decree mandates that, prior to the procession, sacred stones (*gulloi*) are to be placed at a shrine of Hekate by the gates of Miletos and by the doors of Didyma.[121] The stones are to be wreathed, and poured with unmixed wine. They mark the endpoints of the procession, which advances down "the broad road as far as the heights and from the heights through the woods" (ἔρχονται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν μέχρι Ἄκρο, ἀπ' Ἄκρο δὲ διὰ δρυμõ, lines 27–28). The Molpoi stop to sing a paian at seven stations along the way, beginning with the shrine of Hekate by the city gates and ending "by the statues of Chares" at Didyma (παρὰ Χαρέω ἀνδριᾶσιν, line 30). Thus the procession consisted of the delineation of the main axis of the Milesian territory by means of stones and its punctuation by means of serial interactions between singers, statues, and other landmarks. Ritual, here, is a device for the formalization of territory, on par with the map that the Milesian tyrant Aristagoras brought to Sparta in 499 BCE, as discussed in chapter 1.

Hesychius glosses the word *gullos* as "a cube or a foursquare stone," κύβος ἢ τετράγωνος λίθος. Similar cubes could serve as grave monuments on Thera and Samos in the Archaic period; on the other hand, the adjective "foursquare," τετράγωνος, was part of the lexicon of Archaic sculpture (as when the orator Themistios declared, "Before Daidalos, all statues

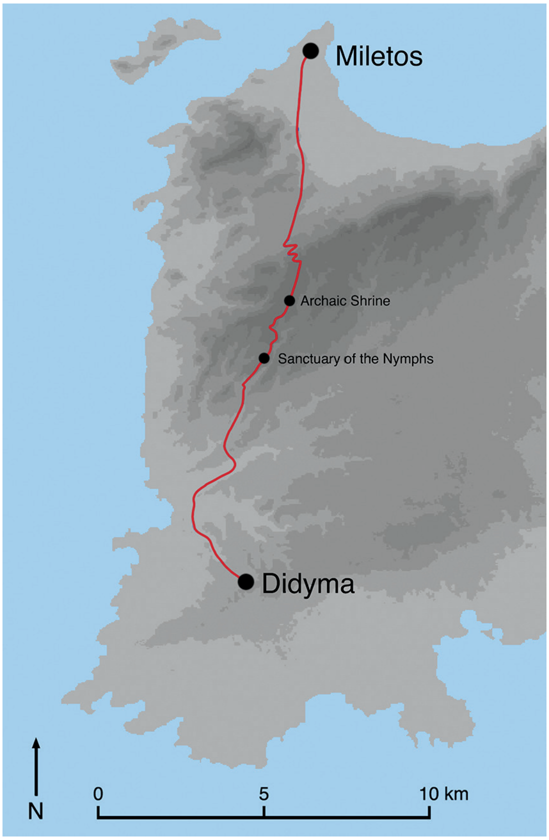

Fig. 2.37. Miletos, Didyma, and environs: standard reconstruction of the route of the procession described in the Molpoi Decree. Drawing by R. Neer adapted from Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018.

[*andriantōn*], not just herms, were foursquare").[122] The *gulloi* belong on a spectrum with pillars, aniconic representations, stelai, and freestanding statuary. The fact that they receive garlands and wine, like a deity, led Wilamowitz and others to liken them to Apollo *Aguieus*, aniconic protector of roads. Yet the Milesian stones cannot have represented Apollo, for they featured in rites of Dionysos as well.[123] Herda argues that they were "*heilige Grenzsteine*" (sacred boundary stones) that received veneration precisely *qua* boundary stones. It was, apparently, their performative role in the delimitation of space that made them worthy of honor—the same power that, as we have seen, Solon ascribed to himself, as the Apollonians did to Zeus and "unshorn" Apollo. These "foursquare" stones were, in effect, *ter-*

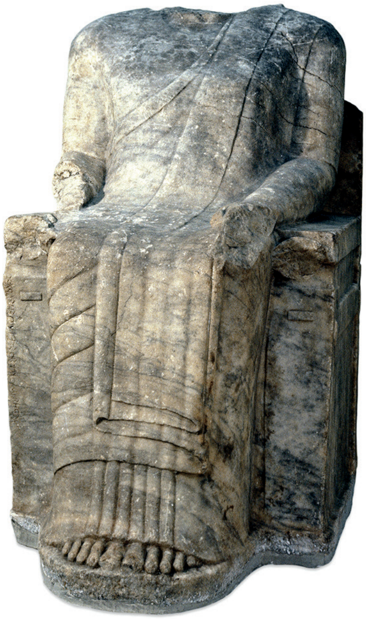

Fig. 2.38. Didyma: seated statue of Chares. Marble, ca. 570–560 BCE. London, British Museum, 1859, 1226.5. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

mata at either end of a sacred track running from the gates of Miletos to the oracular shrine at Didyma.

Archaeologists have located only one of these stations: a sanctuary of the Nymphs on the heights separating Miletos from Didyma, where a nearby meadow (λειμών) was stop number 3; the site has yielded numerous offerings, including two statues of seated females and one of the kore type.[124] The shrine in figure 2.26 was on this same route and may have been another station. One of the *Khareō andriantes*, "statues of Chares," that comprised the seventh and final stage was found near the entry to the Didymaion (fig. 2.38). A seated male, dating by style to the second quarter of the sixth century BCE, it bears a dedicatory inscription: Χαρῆς εἰ̓μι ὁ Κλέσιος, Τειχιόσης ἀρχός. ἄγαλμα τõ Ἀπόλλωνος ("I am Chares, son of Kleisis, Ruler of Teichioussa, an *agalma* belonging to Apollo").[125] Teichioussa was a Carian town some distance east of Didyma, and Chares was apparently a local ruler whose monument was incorporated into the Milesian state procession. The statue is one of some fifteen blocklike figures of seated men and women that, as noted earlier, were reinstalled at the entry to the Didymeion in the Hellenistic period or later; their original placement is unknown but was certainly in the immediate vicinity.[126] The Molpoi inscription refers to "statues" in the plural, presumably allowing the statue of Chares—the only one to bear an inscription—to stand *pars pro toto* for a larger ensemble.[127] The dedication itself, on the other hand, refers only to a single *agalma*, and the style of the other statues is sufficiently variable as to suggest multiple offerings over several decades.

We might think of the seven stations along the Milesian Sacred Way on analogy with the paratactic figures of an Archaic dedication. This analogy is not idle since, in fact, just such an assemblage—"the statues of Chares"—itself comprised one of the stations, and the procession passed beneath, and may even have stopped at, at least one row of sphinxes (fig. 2.26). We do not know how these stations developed over time, but they must have predated the Molpoi Decree itself and, presumably, the ritual as well. It was therefore the procession itself that turned this parataxis into a formal sequence: it transformed seven disjunct points, linked by mere sequential contiguity, into a rule-bound, "syntactical" relation. The statues of Chares, for instance, became the final stop on a grand parade in honor of Apollo, much as the singular *agalma* of the dedicatory inscription became a group of *Khareō andriantes*, "statues of Chares." The Molpoi Decree was the rule book, so to speak, for this undertaking: it gave instructions for how to establish the conditions under which the performative act would be felicitous, that is, would successfully transform "the broad road," "the heights," "the meadow," and "the woods" into a meaningful landscape.

It is here that we can see the importance of choral song. In this case, paian is the tool that actually effects the transformation of the landscape. It functions, for this eighteen-kilometer series of sites and statues, rather as *epos* does for smaller groups like the Apollonia base or the Achaian monument. The difference between the sphinxes and seated figures at Didyma, and the votives at Olympia, is not just that the former stood in rows, while the latter did not. It is also, and more importantly, that the former have no narrative rationale for their placement, while the latter do. Whether the story be that of Eos and Memnon or of Nestor's sortition of heroes, the space between statues derives significance by reference to epic song, in tandem with the shorter epigrammatic verses inscribed on the bases themselves. Choral lyric has a structurally analogous role in the Milesian procession—and, more specifically, in the relation of one *gullos* to another, one shrine to another, Hekate to the Nymphs, the Nymphs to Chares, and so on. Not that the paians themselves necessarily reflected, in some autodeictic way, on the shrines before which they were sung; they may have done so, but our argument does not require it.[128] The mere fact of the singing, as part of a rule-bound or "ritual" sequence, will have sufficed to provide a *fabula* of sorts for this stretch of road. That is, in a way, simply what the successful acquittal of such a ritual accomplishes: a formal orientation of citizenry in the landscape.

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This chapter has examined some of the ways in which Greek sculpture and poetry worked in tandem to articulate space. To that end it has pursued a shift in the understanding of Archaic and Classical sculpture. The shift involves attending less to the way a statue relates to its model than to the way it relates to its beholder. Instead of *mimēsis*, "imitation," we emphasize *thauma*, "wonder": how a statue is or is not like a deity, an athlete, or a votary is less significant than the way it arrests, attracts, excites, fascinates, repels, intimidates, overbears, enthralls the people who notice it. This shift puts in practice the relative weighting of syntagmatic relations over paradigmatic ones that we described in the introduction.

The relation of statue to beholder is worldly not supernatural, social not theological. It is, in fact, inextricable from a larger web of "assignment relations" that rarely become objects of conscious reflection: relations of near and far, high and low, "ours" and "theirs," comprehensible and confusing—all that "goes without saying" in everyday life. Archaic and Classical statuary renders such relations conspicuous: its peremptory solicitation of attention interrupts everyday comportment and, in so doing, makes basic conditions of sense, of "knowing one's way about," remarkable. Of course, even the most wonderful works of art can fade into familiarity over time, but Greek sculptors seem to have gone to great lengths to make their works as obtrusive and eye-catching as possible.

This shift has led to three further claims. The first claim is that sculpture was especially suited to intervene in *spatial* relations. Three-dimensional in itself, durational in its beholding, early Greek sculpture was topopoetic: it constituted places, regions, and territories as such, at multiple scales of magnitude. In a world without maps, sculpture was a tool for coming to grips with surrounding environments. It provided a basic point of reference: narrowly, in the sense that you could use it as a landmark to find your way around; and broadly, in the sense that it provided conceptual rubrics for grasping landscapes, cityscapes, and neighborhoods.

The second claim is that, over time, Greek sculptors increasingly recruited narrative thematics to this task. Even aniconic sculpture can intervene in space by being a beacon, a landmark, or a boundary stone, but representational sculpture in general, and narrative sculptural groups in particular, afford nearly endless opportunities for complex and nuanced intervention.

The third claim is that the combination of topopoesis and narrative suggests analogies with choral lyric poetry. Sculpture and poetry often worked together in early Greece: thematically (as in the representation of stories out of epic), performatively (as when the Milesian Molpoi marked their progress by means of iconic and aniconic statues), or epigraphically (as in the countless verse inscriptions that accompanied sculpture). If our modern disciplines tend to segregate them, we need to see them together as a composite, "transmedial" technology. In the next chapter, we shall see how Pindar's poetry incorporates, reflects upon, and exploits this functionality.

CHAPTER THREE

The Strength of Equipment and the Radiance of Song

Collaborative Effects

We do not know the words that the Molpoi sang as they processed, but the surviving corpus of Pindaric song provides an almost inconceivably rich trove of functionally analogous poetry. The present chapter pursues this analogy, tracking a sequence of place-making effects in Pindar; as we shall see, an epinikian song could be both an ambient offering in its own right and a second-order reflection on gifting, narrative, and space. To bring out this analogy, we follow the same basic itinerary as in chapter 2, proceeding from individual wrought objects to elaborate groups and collaborations, with an ever-increasing compass of spatial intervention. Thus we begin with *agalmata* and votive gifts embedded within epinikion to see how both votives and songs organize microenvironments by means of radiance and numinous power (N.10, P.5). From there we shift to the idea of the poem itself as both dedication and inscription in the case of an epinikian ode that collapses the opposition of word and thing, art and text (O.7). We conclude with two poems that thematize ever more far-reaching light effects (I.4, N.3); like the Apollonia and Achaian monuments at Olympia, these poems narrativize *agalmata* and radiance to collapse the viewer's or hearer's experience of diegetic and extradiegetic spaces. Our consideration of select Pindaric examples thus develops from individual artifacts to larger systems; in so doing, it tracks in ever-expanding circles the impact and spatializing power that Pindaric song claims for itself as a wondrous radiant artifact.

Agalmata, Proxemics, and Power Relations

The myth of Nemean 10 offers us a vivid illustration of the way Pindaric epinikion figures certain numinous objects or wrought monuments as constituting microenvironments and sites of transferable power—in this case the ancestral tomb in relation to descendants. Nemean 10, composed possibly in the 460s or 450s BCE for an Argive victor named Theaios, tells the myth of the fight between the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukes, and the sons of Aphareus, Idas and Lynkeus. In this struggle the Apharetidai swiftly pursue the Dioskouroi, and Idas mortally wounds Kastor:

> λαιψηροῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄφαρ
> ἐξικέσθαν, καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ’ ὠκέως
> καὶ πάθον δεινὸν παλάμαις Ἀφαρητίδαι Διός· αὐτίκα γάρ
> ἦλθε Λήδας παῖς διώκων· τοὶ δ’ ἔναντα στάθεν τύμβῳ σχεδὸν πατρωίῳ·
>
> ἔνθεν ἁρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ’ Ἀίδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον,
> ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ Πολυδεύκεος· ἀλλ’ οὔ νιν φλάσαν
> οὐδ’ ἀνέχασσαν· ἐφορμαθεὶς δ’ ἄρ’ ἄκοντι θοῷ,
> ἤλασε Λυγκέος ἐν πλευραῖσι χαλκόν.
> Ζεὺς δ’ ἐπ’ ῎Ιδᾳ πυρφόρον πλᾶξε ψολόεντα κεραυνόν·
> ἅμα δ’ ἐκαίοντ’ ἐρῆμοι. χαλεπὰ δ’ ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων.
> (N.10.63-72)

> But they arrived straightaway with swift feet and swiftly contrived an enormous deed and suffered terribly at the hands of Zeus, the Apharetidai. For immediately the son of Leda [Polydeukes] came in pursuit; but they took their stand opposite, near their father’s tomb. From there having snatched up the lovely dedication to Hades, polished stone, they hurled it at the breast of Polydeukes. But they did not crush him nor drive him back, but he, having rushed up with swift spear, drove the bronze into Lynkeus’s side. And Zeus hurled against Idas his fire-bearing, smoking lightning bolt. And together they burned, utterly abandoned. For the quarrel against those who are stronger is a difficult companion for mortals.

The myth goes on for another triad to its redemptive conclusion: Polydeukes, offered the choice by his father, Zeus, opts to split his immortality and share it out every other day with his formerly mortal brother Kastor. But what interests us here is the remarkable moment of Idas and Lynkeus tearing up their own father’s grave monument to use it as a weapon against Polydeukes. In the brief resumé of this myth preserved in Apollodorus, which may go back to the older epic *Cypria* version, Lynkeus simply takes up “a rock” and hurls it at Polydeukes’s head, knocking him unconscious (Apollodorus, *Library* 3.11.2). So why has Pindar transformed an ordinary rock into the father’s grave monument—if indeed he has?

In the first place, we should note that Pindar here plays relentlessly on the father’s name, Aphareus (Swifty), not just with ἄφαρ (63) but also with λαιψηροῖς (63), ὠκέως (64), αὐτίκα (65), and θοῷ (69).[1] The point is not just that in this fight everything happens very fast but that the Apharetidai, Idas and Lynkeus, inherit their preternatural speed from their father (as his name indicates). Pindar thereby establishes a structural opposition of "the quick and the dead," the absolute fixity of the tomb monument contrasted with the lightning speed of the actions that take place around it.[2] More significantly, their father's tomb should be the best possible place for these brothers to take their stand, for it should be a site of power for them, whose proximity infuses them with their father's special strength.[3] But instead these foolhardy brothers make the worst possible choice: they obliterate their own father's grave monument, setting it in rapid motion as a weapon. By so doing, they have already doomed themselves—Polydeukes spears Lynkeus, Zeus smites Idas with his flaming bolt—for by the destruction of their father's tomb they have made themselves weak and utterly vulnerable. This is also the point of the terrible final word of this movement of the myth, ἐρῆμοι. Once they have destroyed their father's memorial, their own bodies burn and disappear out in the wilderness, utterly abandoned. There is no more extreme desolation.[4]

Thus Pindar's mythic narrative plays on the perceived power of the tomb and the exchange of potency between dead and living, ancestors and descendants, the tomb image or stele was imagined to enable. This power has nothing to do with visual mimesis, for we cannot tell whether the stone is sculpted or aniconic: Pindar says merely that it is "polished" or "worked" (ξεστός), an *agalma* belonging to Hades.[5] Instead, the issue is *proximity*, and the constitution of a sort of force field. Note σχεδόν (66), which flags relations of propinquity.[6] The tomb organizes the space around it such that standing near it (σχεδόν) is a source of power for the sons of the dead man. Uprooting the monument, however, negates its talismanic power. Displacement is fatal; a locus of power becomes desolation. It is as though someone were to remove Wallace Stevens's jar from its hill in Tennessee, thereby reinstating an absolute undifferentiated "wilderness."

But displacement—uprooting—is only part of the issue. No less important is mobility. For Pindar, a gravestone in motion is an oxymoron and, as such, a failure, no matter how powerful its impact. The displacement of the gravestone seems to transfer all the onrushing speed and power of the Apharetidai to Polydeukes and his father, Zeus. Bronze is altogether more effective than stone in this regard: Idas wounds Kastor "with the point of a bronze spear" (χαλκέας λόγχας ἀκμᾷ, 60);[7] Polydeukes in turn "setting out with swift spear drove the bronze into Lynkeus's side" (70) before Zeus himself delivers the fiery *coup de grâce* (71). Word order and placement within the triad produce particularly striking effects. The concluding phrase of strophe Δ', χαλκέας λόγχας ἀκμᾷ (60), virtually extends the spearpoint into the space between strophe and antistrophe—a space that will have had a correlate in a turn or pivot of the chorus itself.[8] The bronze spearpoint *impinges* or *projects* in both song and choreography. The analogy of this kind of "projectile aesthetics" with contemporary sculpture like the Tübingen runner or the Artemision Zeus is striking and, in a poem manifestly concerned with monuments, scarcely fortuitous.[9] Thematizing mobility, brilliance, and visceral impact, the poet provides a gloss upon the early Classical style in sculpture, all rushing speed and flashing light. Pindar exploits its contradictions, while appropriating its visual effects to drive home a veritable *akmē* of words.

The curious term ἄγαλμ' Ἀίδα, "pleasing thing of Hades," makes sense in this context. The term ἄγαλμα usually applies to votives; nowhere else in Archaic or Classical Greek usage does it designate a tomb monument.[10] Ἄγαλμα suggests "everything that gives pleasure" or "in which one delights" (πᾶν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἀγάλλεται, Hesychius α 263 Latte), hence any beautifully wrought gift that establishes a relation of *charis* ("grace") between exchange partners (often mortal and divine).[11] Literary and epigraphic texts consistently link the term with radiance by association with the word family ἀγλαός, ἀγλαΐα, ἀγλαΐζω.[12] Thus the tomb of Aphareus is a beautifully wrought ornament that establishes a positive relationship with Hades, the lord of the dead.[13] But the tomb monument is also, according to Pindar, bright or radiant—light reflecting from "polished stone"—and this radiance signifies its numinous power through the transactions of cult and contact.[14] Displaced, it gives way to the instantaneous flash of "the fire-bearing, smoking lightning bolt."

In fact, the radiance of the *agalma* makes visible the network of connections of *charis* and transferable power.[15] In the case of the Apharetidai, the "polished stone" of the tomb materializes the reciprocal exchange of force through tomb and tomb cult; and when the tomb is destroyed, its radiance is transferred to the Dioskouroi and intensified in their own scintillating light effects. These light effects in turn anticipate the cosmic reach of their own potent *charis* relationship—their shared, oscillating immortality, split between Therapne and "the golden halls of heaven" (N.10.55-56, 87-88).

We find similar effects of proximity and transferable power marked by radiance in another description of a real *agalma* embedded within epinikion, the winning chariot as dedicatory object described in Pythian 5 (34–42). Here, the privileged location of the object near the ancient cult image of Apollo in Delphi endows the dedicated chariot with power and quasi-animation.[16] And here, in a vivid representation of the proper relation between precious object and *charis* exchange partners (in contrast to Nemean 10), Pindar's song explicitly collaborates with the material dedication to intensify and vastly expand the reach of its radiance.

Pythian 5, for the chariot victory of Arkesilas IV, king of Cyrene, in 462, devotes an entire triad to praise and commemoration of the successful charioteer, Karrhotos, son of Alexibios (P.5.23-53).[17] We will return to consider this poem in more detail in chapter 6; here we restrict ourselves to its dynamics of radiant things. Pindar first locates the king in Cyrene, where he is urged to "receive this *kōmos* of men" (22) and to remember "to set the god over everything as responsible, but to love Karrhotos exceptionally of your companions" (25–26) because of the latter's extraordinary feat of navigating the king's chariot to victory in the race:

ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις
ποδαρκέων δώδεκ᾽ ἂν δρόμων τέμενος.
κατέκλασε γὰρ ἐντέων σθένος οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ κρέμαται
ὁπόσα χεριαρᾶν
τεκτόνων δαίδαλ᾽ ἄγων
Κρισαῖον λόφον
ἄμειψεν ἐν κοιλόπεδον νάπος
θεοῦ· τό σφ᾽ ἔχει κυπαρίσσινον
μέλαθρον ἀμφ᾽ ἀνδριάντι σχεδόν,
Κρῆτες ὃν τοξοφόροι τέγεϊ Παρνασσίῳ
καθέσσαντο μονόδροπον φυτόν. (P.5.32-42)

> With reins unmixed in the precinct of the twelve swift-footed racing laps. For he [Karrhotos] shattered no strength of equipment. But it [the winning chariot] is hung up—all that elaborate handiwork of skilled craftsmen that he drove past the hill of Krisa on his way to the hollow valley of the god—which the roofbeam of cypress wood holds near the statue, hewn from a single trunk, that the bow-bearing Cretans set up in the Parnassian temple.

Such dedications were not wholly without precedent: excavations at the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi (Abai) have revealed bronze chariot wheels that were originally suspended from the columns of the peri-

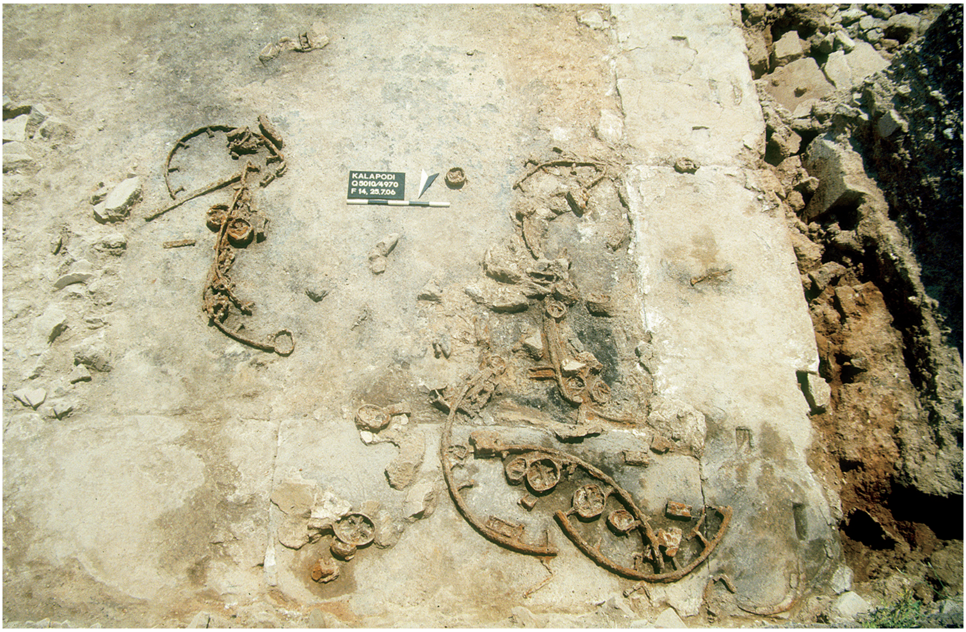

Fig. 3.1. Kalapodi: wheels discovered in the outer colonnade of the southern temple, ca. seventh to sixth century BCE. Both chariot and cart wheels have been found. Photo courtesy Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier.

style (fig. 3.1).[18] We should imagine something similar at Delphi, although Karrhotos's achievement was exceptional: he guided his chariot unscathed in a race in which forty charioteers crashed and fell.[19]

Pindar emphasizes surfaces, textures, and materials: the ornately wrought chariot, the cypress-wood roofbeam, the image of the god carved from a single trunk.[20] As in Nemean 10, however, his most important word may be σχεδόν, "near": once again, this little preposition underscores proxemics and power. The ancient *xoanon* of Apollo set up by the "bow-bearing Cretans" organizes the space around it, so that the chariot suspended from the roofbeam occupies a place of honor "nearby," that is, relative to it. The close contact with the divine image represents a signal honor, but more than that: it is as if the dedication draws power from its proximity to the cult image, a kind of material correlate of Apollo's divine favor to Battos and his descendant Arkesilas, chronicled throughout Pindar's ode. It is thus significant that the noun phrase that first designates the chariot is ἐντέων σθένος, "strength of equipment" (P.5.34). σθένος in Pindar is almost always human "strength" or the strength of natural elements (sun, water, snow, wind), but here it is a property of "equipment."[21] One initially takes the word σθένος, moreover, to be the subject of the following verb κρέμαται ("it is hung up, suspended"), so that strength itself appears to have been hung up in the temple.[22] Although scholars have doubted whether the chariot really was suspended by the ancient cult image, it would be precipitous to explain away the phrasing as poetic license or exaggeration.[23] On the contrary, Pindar's description asserts a spatial relation between the two—and in so doing *constitutes* a microenvironment, a charged zone between the equipment that hangs in midair and the statue that is rooted to the ground. We might compare this interaction to the way Timonax's two dedications at Klaros signal to each other, the kore twisting at the knees to align with the matching kouros fifteen meters away, next to the altar of Apollo.

At the same time, the complex unspooling of the clause beginning with κρέμαται that registers the dedication ("it is hung up, all that elaborate handiwork of skilled craftsmen that he drove past the hill of Krisa on his way to the hollow valley of the god") compacts within the object a whole history of its crafting, as well as its passage through the landscape of the Pythian games. In this way, the dedicated chariot serves as a "biographical object" for Karrhotos and Arkesilas, a material congeries of their linked past, while Pindar's ode mimes or re-creates elements typical of a dedicatory inscription.[24]

As Pindar extends his praise of the charioteer, real and metaphorical dedications or monuments collaborate to produce ever more far-reaching and dazzling light effects.[25] Immediately after the detailed description of Karrhotos's ornately wrought (δαίδαλ') chariot suspended in dedication within Apollo's Delphic temple, Pindar continues:

ἑκόντι τοίνυν πρέπει
νόῳ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντιάσαι.
Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἠύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες.
μακάριος, ὃς ἔχεις
καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον
λόγων φερτάτων
μναμήι'· ἐν τεσσαράκοντα γάρ
πετόντεσσιν ἁνιόχοις ὅλον
δίφρον κομίξαις ἀταρβεῖ φρενί,

> ἦλθες ἤδη Λιβύας πεδίον ἐξ ἀγλαῶν
> ἀέθλων καὶ πατρωίαν πόλιν. (P.5.43-53)

> Accordingly it is fitting to meet one's benefactor with willing mind. Son of Alexibios, the beautiful-haired Graces set you ablaze. Blessed [are you] who have even after great toil a memorial consisting of the best words; for among forty charioteers who had fallen, you conveyed your chariot safe with fearless mind, and now you have come to the plain of Libya and your paternal city from radiant contests.

The transitional gnome here (43–44) returns to the idea articulated in line 26, that the king Arkesilas should "love exceptionally of his companions" the winning charioteer Karrhotos for his skillful driving at Delphi, acknowledging him as "benefactor" with "willing mind." And the poet then proceeds to offer the charioteer the precious recompense of immortalizing song on the king's behalf, as it were. This takes the form of the simple assertion that "the beautiful-haired Graces set you ablaze," as light shines out from "a memorial of the best words" (Pindar's own poem). And yet, this blazing monument of words the poet crafts doubles as or replaces the inscription we would expect to find attached to the dedicated chariot: for this, note γάρ in line 49, explaining (just as we might read in an actual inscription) the reason the chariot itself forms such an apt offering.[26] At the same time, Pindar's "memorial of the best words" magnifies the reach and scope of the dedication-cum-inscription, so that its light flashes and arcs between Delphi (site of "radiant contests") and faraway Cyrene on the Libyan plain.[27]

Pindar's Phenomenology of Radiance

Nemean 10 suggests that Pindar is very much engaged with an aesthetics of radiance akin to that of contemporary sculpture. But it is also significant that in Pythian 5 it is the *Graces* who set the charioteer ablaze in an extended context framed and interwoven by the theme of *charis*—reciprocal relations of goodwill among the victor Arkesilas, his charioteer, and the Delphic god enacted through dedication and (as) song (P.5.23-53). In this poem, as throughout Pindar, we find light tracing and making visible relations of power and *charis* networks. Indeed, poetic light effects extend the reach of sites of power and connect them, expanding upon the flashing, scintillating radiance aimed at by contemporary sculpture.

In Pindaric epinikion the site of the games or any kind of significant achievement gives out light; ἀρετά "shines clear" (I.1.22); κλέος "shines" from Olympia (O.1.23); the "god-given gleam" of supreme achievement bestows λαμπρὸν φέγγος on men (P.8.96-97). Most of all, by a very frequent and unusual Pindaric synaesthesia, celebratory song illuminates or irradiates the honorand. Scholars have meticulously catalogued these images, even to the point of labeling them a mere "convention" of epinikian song.[28] This conclusion is not wrong, but it does risk missing the point: of course the poet's language is conventional, but the convention consists precisely in likening poetry to sculpture. The concept of a poetic conceit is very useful, but not if it merely encourages us to sequester Pindar from his environment, poetry from archaeology.

The essence of the conceit is that a Pindaric poem is itself a radiant *agalma* that gives out light—much like the real objects embedded in the epinikia.[29] In addition to all the nouns and adjectives that signify light and radiance (ἀγλαΐα, αἴγλα, ἀκτίς, αὐγά, σέλας, φάος, φέγγος, ἀγλαός, λαμπρός, φαεννός), Pindar deploys a nearly unique set of verbs that suggest that he, like the early Classical sculptors, aims at ever-expanding, dazzling light effects. Thus λάμπω, the *vox propria* for the light of sun and moon and the gleam of bronze armor in Homer, is always metaphorical in Pindar's epinikia, designating the radiance of κλέος (O.1.23), ἀρετά (I.1.22), and, in a powerful synaesthesia, φάμα (I.4.23, a passage to which we will return).[30]

More unusual and striking still is Pindar's use of the verb φλέγω and its compounds. These verbs conventionally designate the violent action of something bursting into flame or being set ablaze. Thus the verb φλέγω and its poetic by-form φλεγέθω occur only six times in all of Homer, all in the *Iliad*, to describe the ravaging force of fire.[31] In Pindar, φλέγω, ἐμφλέγω, and ἐπιφλέγω feature eleven times, nine of them metaphorical, linked to the action of speech or celebratory song.[32] The lexicographers, in despair, are forced to write separate, special definitions for Pindar's usage: LSJ glosses, "A. trans., II, 2. metaph., *make illustrious* or *famous*"; "B. intr., 3. *shine forth*, *become famous*," while W. J. Slater's *Lexicon to Pindar* offers "a. trans., *make radiant*, *illuminate*" and "b. intrans. *be radiant*."[33] Yet, this hardly does justice to Pindar's dazzling epinikian world of spontaneous combustion, where celebratory song, the Muses, or the Graces kindle and set ablaze the objects of the poet's praise. As in Pythian 5, the opening of Nemean 10 links the Charites closely with the verb φλέγω, invoking them to hymn the city of Argos: φλέγεται δ᾽ ἀρεταῖς | μυρίαις ἔργων θρασέων ἕνεκεν ("And it is set ablaze by countless achievements thanks to bold deeds," N.10.2-3). The Charites are fully at home in epinikion as the divine patrons of festivity and celebratory song,[34] but their appearance at the beginning of Nemean 10, linked to the verb φλέγω, also registers and makes visible the radiant network of reciprocal joy and favor that connects the victor, his city, and its patron deities through the *agalma*/poem.

There is no better example of the collaborative work of poem and dedication in generating a far-reaching and wondrous radiance than Olympian 7. This ode, if we are to believe a scholiast's report, literalizes the trope of poem as *agalma* and thereby deconstructs the very opposition of "art and text." Olympian 7, for the fantastically successful boxer Diagoras of Rhodes, is usually associated with his Olympic victory of 464 BCE, but Bruno Currie has recently argued that we might better interpret the ode as celebrating Diagoras's entire career as *periodonikēs*, some unknown number of years after his Olympic win.[35] The scholia, immediately after providing the victor's name, patronymic, ethnic, event, and Olympiad (essentially the poem's title), report:

> Ταύτην τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι Γόργων ἐν τῷ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηναίας ἱερῷ χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν. (Schol. O.7, 1:195 Drachmann = Gorgon 515 F 18 *FGrH*)
>
> Gorgon says that this ode is dedicated in/on the temple of Athena Lindia in letters of gold.

There is no reason, prima facie, to doubt this report: it was not unknown for poems and inscriptions to be laid up in sanctuaries as dedications in their own right[36] Yet it is unclear when such a dedication might have occurred: the scholiast is uninformative as to both date and dedicant. Many scholars have simply assumed that the inscription must have been set up by the Rhodians long after Pindar's time.[37] Others have argued that a dedication by Diagoras himself or a member of his family shortly after the original performance of the ode is equally if not more probable.[38] Thus Christopher Carey suggests that "Diagoras [may have] made a dedicatory gift of the ode to the temple analogous to the setting up of a statue."[39] This suggestion seems very plausible, although a closer analogy might be with a small, portable object such as a phiale, since victor statues typically stood in the open air of a *temenos*, and Gorgon specifies that the poem was in or on the temple itself, the usual venue for smaller items.

Such a dedication would, admittedly, have been unusual. Most of the preserved lyric poems inscribed on stone are substantially shorter and date

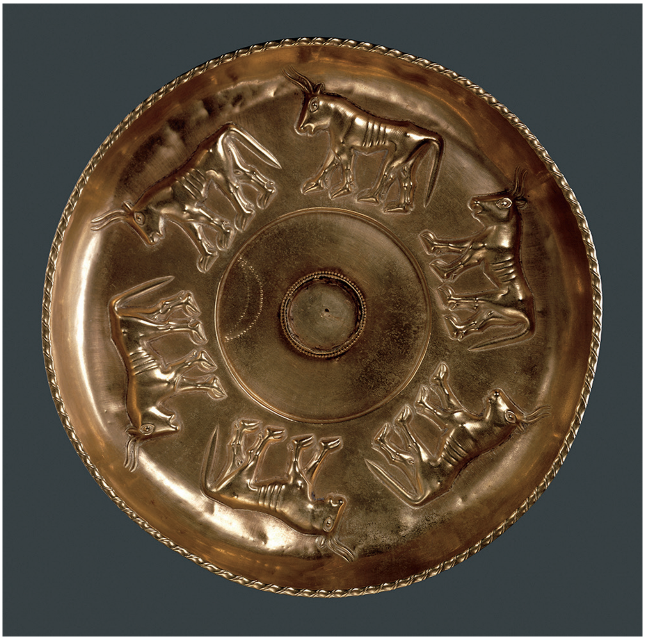

Fig. 3.2. Phiale from Sant'Angelo Muxaro (Sicily), probably manufactured at Gela. Gold, ca. 600 BCE. London, British Museum, 1772,0314.70. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

from the early fourth century BCE or later.[40] In addition, unlike all these other poems preserved on stone, Olympian 7 is not a cult hymn to a god but instead more like a tremendous expansion of a dedicatory epigram.[41] It is perhaps significant, then, that the scholiast uses the verb ἀνακεῖσθαι, the technical term for setting up a dedication (here in the passive voice), in his citation of Gorgon.[42] Yet the commissioning of a Pindaric ode is exceptional as well, and the early Classical Gortyn Code shows that even vastly long inscriptions were known in Pindar's day.[43]

Did Pindar compose Olympian 7 with this monumentalization in mind? Certainly he invites comparison between the poem and an array of precious, even magical objects.[44] Olympian 7 is the only poem in the entire corpus of Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinikia to open with a noun designating an object, in this case a phiale, "all-golden peak of possessions" (fig. 3.2).[45] Conventionally, epinikia begin with an invocation, an imperative or verb of praying, or a place name. The closest parallels for the φιάλαν of Olympian 7 are the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ of Pythian 1 and the χρυσέας . . .

κίονας of Olympian 6; in both cases, the poet gives the adjective ("golden") priority over the noun.[46] If, as Ewen Bowie has shown, the inscription accompanying a golden phiale that the Spartans dedicated at Olympia in 458/57 BCE could condense an entire narrative into a dedicatory inscription, so Olympian 7 pours an entire epinikion from the image of the libation vessel.[47]

The rest of the poem continues to give pride of place to things. Pindar describes the birth of Athena as a work of craft and craftsmanship (35–37).[48] He then narrates the "founding of a conspicuous altar" for Athena and a "sacred grove on the acropolis" by the Heliadai (κτίσαιεν βωμὸν ἐναργέα, 42; τεῦξαν δ' . . . ἄλσος ἐν ἀκρόπολει, 48–49) and the newborn goddess's reciprocal gift to them of magical *technē* and *sophia*, so that the roads of the island "used to bear works (ἔργα) that were like living and moving [creatures]" (50–52). This whole mythic section of the ode is framed, in turn, by the doubled narrative of Zeus honoring "the city" with a magical snowstorm or rain of gold, apparently in festive celebration of the birth of Athena and the reverent sacrifice offered to her by the sons of Helios (34, 49–50).[49]

This emphasis on craft and dedication makes it particularly tempting to suppose that Olympian 7 did not just wind up as a votive inscription but was actually composed with such display in mind. The unusual opening word, φιάλαν, gains significance in this light. Pindar constructs a composite image for his poem in performance: the phiale "plashing within with the dew of the grape" (2) or, in the even more exalted version that links poet and victor in the second half of this elaborate simile, with "poured out nectar, sweet fruit of mind" (7–8). Performance is at once a filling and a pouring, while the phiale, once emptied of its flashing, scintillating, sounding liquid, is, as it were, the dedicated material residue or container of the song. In short, the golden dedicatory vessel figures the written words that endure after the performance. One could scarcely imagine a more apt metaphor for a poem destined for inscription in letters of gold as a pleasing gift for the goddess of *technē* and *sophia*. The opening word φιάλαν, chiseled in stone and gilded, *becomes* the object itself, "all-golden peak of possessions," while also emblematizing the entire ode, filled with flashing gold and light.

The temple of Athena Lindia on Rhodes enjoyed a spectacular situation, commanding a vast view of the island and the surrounding sea (fig. 3.3). Inscribed "in" or "on" this bright edifice, picked out in letters of

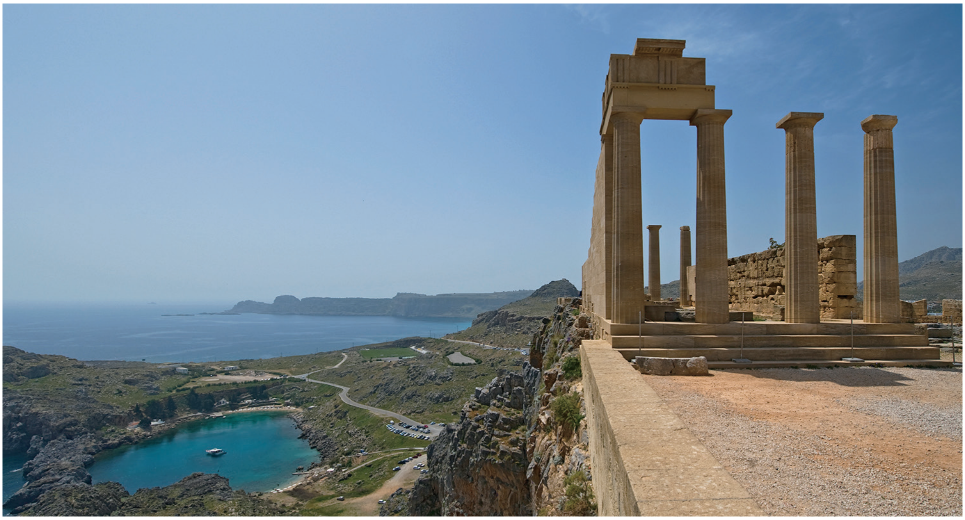

Fig. 3.3. Lindos: temple of Athena Lindia, view from northeast. Fourth century BCE, replacing an older structure that stood in Pindar's day. Photo by Saffron Blaze (CC-BY-SA-3.0).

gold, Pindar's poem would have blazed in the sunlight, conspicuous from a great distance. There is of course no archaeological evidence for where Olympian 7 might have been set up, but ancient parallels suggest two possible locations: either on an exterior wall of the temple, like the two paians inscribed on the south exterior wall of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, or on a stele or wall in the pronaos, a typical venue for the display of phialai.[50]

The Archaic temple of Athena aligned southwest-northeast, so that on either exterior long side the poem would have been radiant and visible from a great distance.[51] If it was inscribed on the wall facing southeast, it would have shone out over the Mediterranean in the morning sun; if on the wall facing northwest, the afternoon or evening sun would have set it ablaze over the territory of Rhodes, arcing toward the cities of Kameiros and Ialysos on the island's northern coast. Likewise, if the poem was set up on a wall or a stele in the temple pronaos, it would have shone across the sea and toward the Asian mainland in the morning sun. These remarkable light effects enact the perfect collapse of object and word, of real and metaphorical radiance, to which Pindaric epinikion aspired.[52] But more than that: light from the poem/*agalma* maps out lines of power and grace (*charis*)—Rhodes's domination of the sea or the aspirational unification of its three cities in the Rhodian synoikism effected half a century after the composition of Pindar's ode.[53] A poem of gold overlooking a harbor, Olympian 7 was an inadvertent analogue to the late sixth-century tower of Akeratos on Thasos, a *verbal* beacon that blazed from afar.

Narrativizing Light Effects: Isthmian 4

Now we add narrative. If there was narrative in the poems we have considered thus far, it was the kind we have called "backstory," the kind that characterizes dedicatory epigrams. Thus Pythian 5 embeds the story of Karrhotos's masterful feat of navigating his chariot safe out of the race, as explanation for the chariot dedication at Delphi, while Olympian 7 assimilates itself to a dedicated object—victor statue or phiale—to motivate its radiant inscription. But now we turn to consider a pair of Pindaric epinikia that narrativize their spatial effects through a superadded *fabula*, so in this regard akin to the Apollonia and Achaian monuments at Olympia. And note that when we speak of "narrativizing" and *fabula*, we are not, or not simply, talking about the "myth" in these poems but (as suggested in chapter 1) about the whole apparatus of language, imagery, meter, movement, and the "architecture" of poems that Pindar has at his disposal to constitute complex systems of imaginary or diegetic space.

Like Pythian 5 and Olympian 7, Isthmian 4 stages a collaboration or orchestration of word and object, or song in its ritual setting. Indeed, Pindar's fourth Isthmian ode features perhaps the most elaborate sequence of dazzling light effects in the epinikia.[54] The poem itself thematizes light arcing across ever greater distances, even as it merges and deconstructs the opposition between a vertical column of flame and the global reach and visibility of the heavenly bodies, stars and sun. In so doing, it reworks or appropriates the dramatic Homeric light effects we considered in the last chapter for an epinikian context. It gives them an immersive narrativizing function akin to that of the Apollonia or Achaian statue groups, with their complex interpenetration of diegetic and extradiegetic space.

Scholars have long recognized the pervasive imagery of light and the dramatic alternation of metaphorical darkness and radiance in the development of this ode.[55] These powerful "chiaroscuro" effects track the relation of the victor Melissos to the family from which he derived, the Kleonymidai.[56] For the family was a wealthy and important one in Thebes, committed to *hippotrophia* and victors at a number of local games, but they had evidently never yet won at one of the "Big Four" panhellenic contests, and at some point they had lost four members in a single day in war.[57] These are the elements of shadow and darkness that play through the poem, alternating with the radiant light generated by Melissos's Isthmian victory and Pindar's poetic celebration thereof. Thus at the beginning of the ode Melissos is said to have "shown forth" or "revealed abundance of material for poetic celebration at the Isthmian games" (εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἰσθμίοις, I.4.2), and again at the end of the ode, "this man showed forth a double victory [in local games] and a third in the boys' category before" (διπλόαν νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο . . . , I.4.70-71b). In contrast, at the midpoint of the poem the poet acknowledges in gnomic form that there is also "obscurity of fortune for those who strive" (ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων, I.4.31), a reference to the family's earlier failure to win any panhellenic chariot victories, which segues in turn to a brief myth of Ajax committing suicide in the darkness of night (ὀψίᾳ ἐν νυκτί, I.4.35b–36).

Within this frame, Pindar offers a series of vividly realized images of the contrast of darkness and light (several of which we will consider in more detail in a moment): (1) winter storm depriving the family hearth of four men, now replaced by the blossoming of the "dappled earth" with bright spring roses (I.4.16-18b); (2) the ancient repute (φάμαν παλαιάν) of the family awakened from sleep and now shining "like the Morning Star among the other stars" (I.4.21-24); (3) Homer "setting upright every excellence of Ajax" through his divine verses, leading to the gnomic reflection that "the beam of noble deeds, unquenchable always, goes over the all-fruited earth and through the sea" (I.4.37-42); (4) the poet then praying "to happen upon kindly disposed Muses, to kindle that beacon fire of hymns also for Melissos" (I.4.43-45); and (5) the description in the poem's closing antistrophe of an all-night festival for the sons of Herakles at which "at the setting of the beams [of the sun], the flame, rising up, celebrates all night, kicking the upper air with sacrificial smoke rich in fat" (I.4.61-66).[58]

Pindar explicitly connects these dazzling light effects to the aesthetics of *thauma*. Thus, in his acknowledgment that it was the god Poseidon who bestowed the current Isthmian victory:

ὁ κινητὴρ δὲ γᾶς Ὀγχηστὸν οἰκέων
καὶ γέφυραν ποντιάδα πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων,
τόνδε πορὼν γενεᾷ θαμαστὸν ὕμνον
ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν

> εὐκλέων ἔργων· ἐν ὕπνῳ γὰρ πέσεν· ἀλλ’ ἀνεγειρομένα χρῶτα λάμπει,
> Ἀοσφόρος θαητὸς ὣς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις· (I.4.19-24)
>
> He who moves the earth, who inhabits Onchestos and the marine bridge before the walls of Corinth, by granting this wondrous hymn to the family leads forth from its bed(s) the ancient reputation of glorious deeds. But awakened, it shines in flesh, like the wondrous Morning Star among the other stars.

Wonder here features prominently, both in the “wondrous hymn” (θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον) the god bestows and in the “wondrous Morning Star” (Ἀοσφόρος θαητός) that figures the radiant reawakening of the family’s ancient repute under the influence of victory and new song. But what makes the hymn “wondrous”? It is surely in part the remarkable scintillating light effects that play through the poem but also, perhaps, the powerful synaesthesia of Pindar’s images throughout, doubling or multiplying and intensifying sensory experience in performance.[59]

Thus it is significant that it is φάμα (lit., “voice,” “oral report”) that shines or gives out light (λάμπει). Even stranger, why does the “report” need to take on “flesh” or “body” (χρῶτα) to shine like the Morning Star? Commentators and critics regularly ignore χρῶτα or translate it as “face.”[60] Kurke has suggested elsewhere that the word powerfully contributes to the imagery of athletic victory and song as new birth for the house, as the current victor is imagined to reincarnate the dead kinsmen in radiant flesh.[61] But even this gloss does not fully capture the weirdness of this image; after all, it isn’t the victor himself but φάμα, made simultaneously flesh and light. Perhaps the image evokes the flashing forms of dancers in motion, but it may also suggest the gleaming bodies of bronze statues or Homeric warriors.

In these terms, it is tempting to read Pindar’s simile here as the epinikian transformation of a simile we have already considered from the beginning of *Iliad* 22, likening Achilleus rushing over the Trojan plain to the radiant but baleful Dog Star (see above, pp. 56–57):

> Τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
> παμφαίνονθ’ ὥς τ’ ἀστέρ’ ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο,
> ὅς ῥά τ’ ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
> φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ’ ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ·
> ὅν τε κύν’ ’Ωρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
> λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ’ ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,

> καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
> ὣς τοῦ χαλκὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στήθεσσι θέοντος. (*Il.* 22.25-32)

> The old man Priam was first to see him with his eyes, as he sped all-shining over the plain like the star that comes up at harvest time, and brightly its rays shine among the many stars in the gloom of night, the star that men call by the name Dog of Orion. Brightest of all is it, yet it is wrought as a sign of evil, and brings much fever to wretched mortals. Thus was the bronze gleaming on the breast of Achilleus as he ran.

In fact, this simile is part of a series of similes used for Achilleus that climaxes later in book 22 in one final astral image. At the moment Achilleus balances his spear to strike the mortal blow in his single combat with Hektor, all the ominous light imagery that has attended him through his *aristeia* focuses in on his gleaming spearpoint:[62]

> οἷος δ’ ἀστὴρ εἶσι μετ’ ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ
> ἕσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ,
> ὣς αἰχμῆς ἀπέλαμπ’ εὐήκεος, ἣν ἄρ’ Ἀχιλλεὺς
> πάλλεν δεξιτερῇ φρονέων κακὸν Ἕκτορι δίῳ,
> εἰσορόων χρόα καλόν, ὅπῃ εἴξειε μάλιστα.

> And as a star moves among the stars in the gloom of night, Hesperus, who is the fairest star who stands in the sky, such was the shining from the pointed spear Achilleus was shaking in his right hand with evil intention toward brilliant Hektor. He was eyeing Hektor’s splendid body, to see where it might best give way. (*Il.* 22.317-21, trans. Lattimore, modified)

This is the one and only mention of the Evening Star, Hesperus, in all of Homer, and it appears here movingly to signal the waning of the day at the moment of Hektor’s impending death, as the spearpoint is about to snuff the light from his flesh.[63]

It is as if Pindar in Isthmian 4 conflates these two star similes (the Dog Star and the Evening Star) and answers them with his image of the “wondrous Morning Star among the other stars.” In Homer, these two images together anticipate the death of Hektor and the destruction of his family and city (the first explicitly, as it is focalized through Priam watching from the walls of Troy). In Isthmian 4, these grim Homeric images are transformed, as the baleful Dog Star rising in late summer/early autumn is replaced by the Morning Star in spring, while at the same time the Evening Star becomes the Morning Star to figure the new victor's achievement rekindling the dimmed fortunes of his family. It is, perhaps, this allusive play of transformation and identity that earns the star the epithet "wondrous," θαητός (I.4.24). The ancients knew perfectly well that the Morning Star was the same as the Evening Star; modern philosophers since Gottlob Frege have taken the logical structure of this relation to be paradigmatic of the distinction between sense and reference, but Pindar recurs to the language of wonder.[64]

We find a similar compacting of synaesthetic effects and evocations of Homeric radiance in the passage in which Pindar pivots from the family of the Kleonymidai (represented by the myth of Ajax) to the victor Melissos:[65]

> ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ
> πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
> θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
> τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει,
> εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι· καὶ πάγκαρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
> ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.
>
> προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν, κεῖνον ἅψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων
> καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,
> ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα. (I.4.37–45)

> But Homer to be sure has made him honored among men, who having set upright all his achievement, showed it forth [leaning] on a staff of divine verses for later men to enjoy. For this goes immortal, speaking, if someone says something well; and the beam of noble deeds, unquenchable always, has gone over the all-fruitful land and through the sea. May we happen upon kindly disposed Muses, to kindle that beacon fire of hymns also for Melissos, shoot of Telesiades, a crown worthy of the pankration.

Here, at the exact center of the poem, Pindar conjures up Homer as a model for the immortalizing power of song figured as the endless, far-reaching radiance of the sun. The ego follows this image immediately with a prayer "to happen upon kindly disposed Muses, to kindle that beacon fire of hymns also for Melissos." κεῖνον and καί attach this image of kindling a beacon fire directly to the "beam of noble deeds."[66]

The remarkable image of the "beacon fire of hymns" (πυρσὸν ὕμνων) occurs only here in Pindar's epinikia.[67] Like the poem inscribed at Lindos, it suggests something like the Akeratos monument on Thasos, a beacon of fire set on high upon a tower of marble as "salvation for sailors."[68] And in this context it is striking that Pindar should choose the term ἔρνος (lit., "shoot," "young tree") to provide Melissos's patronymic.[69] Having just prayed to be able to kindle the beacon fire, which is also "a crown" (στεφάνωμ'), he transforms the victor himself into the wood from which the flame leaps up. Are we to imagine a crown of flame leaping up from Melissos's head?

With this image, we come to a final Homeric resonance that may be lurking within these lines, a reference to the beam of magical fire Athena kindles from the head of Achilleus in *Iliad* 18 (cited in chapter 2, p. 61, above). Recall that here, in order to help the Achaians, fighting desperately to rescue Patroklos's body, Iris first rouses Achilleus from his hut to go to the edge of the ditch at the end of a long day of fighting, and then we are told:

> αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὦρτο Διῒ φίλος· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη
> ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν,
> ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δῖα θεάων
> χρύσεον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαῖε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν.
>
> But Achilleus, the beloved of Zeus, rose up, and Athena swept about his powerful shoulders the fluttering aegis; and she, the divine among goddesses, about his head circled a golden cloud, and kindled from it a flame all-shining. (*Il.* 18.203-6, trans. Lattimore, modified)

Notice how this wondrous flame is first described: the goddess "crowned his head with a golden cloud, and kindled from it a flame all-shining" (*Il.* 18.205-6). Pindar seems to pick up the combination of crown (ἔστεφε) and flame (φλόγα παμφανόωσαν) for Melissos, praying for the epinikian Muses to fill the role played in epic by Athena.

In support of this association, we might also observe the way in which the Iliadic description of the magic column of flame unfurls into an extended simile:

> ὡς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ' ἵκηται,
> τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου, τὴν δήϊοι ἀμφιμάχωνται,
> οἵ τε πανημέριοι στυγερῷ κρίνονται Ἄρηϊ
> ἄστεος ἐκ σφετέρου· ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι

> πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ὑψόσε δ’ αὐγὴ
> γίγνεται ἀΐσσουσα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι,
> αἴ κέν πως σὺν νηυσὶν ἄρεω ἀλκτῆρες ἵκωνται·
> ὣς ἀπ’ Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ’ ἵκανε·
>
> As when smoke goes up into the high air from a town from an island far away, with enemies fighting about it who all day long are in the hateful division of Ares fighting from their own town, but as the sun goes down beacon fires blaze out one after another, so that the glare goes pulsing high for men of the neighboring islands to see it for themselves, in case they might come over in ships to fend off the enemy; so from the head of Achilleus the blaze shot into the bright air. (*Il.* 18.207-14, trans. Lattimore, modified)

Here the beam flashing from the head of Achilleus is likened to "beacon fires [that] blaze out one after another" (πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, 211), appealing for aid from a city on a faraway island surrounded by enemy attackers. This is the one and only occurrence of πυρσός in all of Homer, just as πυρσός in Isthmian 4 is a *hapax* in Pindaric epinikion.

At the same time, this extended Homeric simile of smoke and fire leaping up when the sun has set (ἅμα δ’ ἠελίῳ καταδύντι, 210) may also resonate behind one final passage in Isthmian 4, whose language and imagery are closely linked to the "beacon fire of hymns" Pindar hopes to kindle for Melissos. In the last triad of the ode, after describing Herakles's blissful existence on Olympos (I.4.55-60), the ego pivots via a relative pronoun to what seems to have been the occasion of the song's original performance, as part of an all-night festival in Thebes:[70]

> τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτρᾶν ὕπερθεν δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἀστοί
> καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὔξομεν
> ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων,
> τοὺς Μεγάρα τέκε οἱ Κρεοντὶς υἱούς·
> τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν φλὸξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει,
> αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζοισα καπνῷ, (I.4.61-66)
>
> For him [Herakles] we citizens, furnishing a sacrificial meal above the Elektran Gates, also increase the new-built things heaped up on the altars, the burnt offerings for the eight bronze-clad dead, the sons whom Megara, daughter of Kreon, bore him. For them, at the setting of the beams [of the sun], the flame rising like a planet celebrates continuously the all-night festival, kicking the upper air with its savory smoke.[71]

Here we find the smoke rising to the bright upper air (αἰθέρα) that figures prominently in Homer's description (ὡς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ' ἵκηται, 207, picked up by σέλας αἰθέρ' ἵκανε, 214), in both cases linked to the moment of dusk and the setting of the sun. We might also see the Homeric ὑψόσε δ' αὐγή . . . ἀΐσσουσα (211–12) resumed by Pindar's bolder metaphor φλόξ . . . λακτίζοισα (I.4.65-66).

These Homeric echoes—or better, flashes of light—have three significant effects. First, the Homeric evocations intensify the brilliant light effects of Pindar's ode; second, the wondrous column of flame shooting up from Achilleus's head links more closely together the two connected vignettes of the "beacon fire of hymns" and the all-night flame of burnt offerings (an association to which we will return in a moment). Finally, it may be that the Homeric echo or evocation carries with it the epic association of "beacon fires" (πυρσοί) with the salvation of the civic community (potential within the simile of *Il.* 18.207-14 and actual within the narrative reality of Achilleus's appearance at the ditch).

All these effects are closely related; to see how, we would like to build on the brilliant reading of this ode offered by Eveline Krummen. Krummen argues that the present-tense αὔξομεν (62) specifies the original performance occasion of Pindar's ode: at the Herakleia, a major civic festival in honor of Herakles and his eight sons, here figured as civic warrior heroes. Within this festival frame, Krummen maps out a series of connections and associations forged by the language and imagery of Isthmian 4: thus Melissos's four dead relatives who were "pleasing to bronze Ares" (χαλκέῳ τ' Ἄρει ἅδον, 15) are closely associated with the "bronze-clad dead" (χαλκοαρᾶν . . . θανόντων, 63), the sons of Herakles as civic heroes.[72] Reinforcing these links, the "beacon fire of hymns" Pindar wishes to kindle for the victor, the epinikian ode itself in vivid performance, blends into or merges with the "flame rising all night long" of the sacrificial offerings, since both combine fire and metaphorical crowns (στεφάνωμ', 44; στεφανώματα, 62). Pindar's ode thereby maps the celebration of the victor and the commemoration of his family's war dead onto the civic festival.[73]

And here finally we get back to the comparison of Pindar's remarkable visual effects in Isthmian 4 to those of contemporary sculpture, specifically the complex narrative effects achieved by the Achaian monument at Olympia. For Pindar's ode in performance constructs a space at once diegetic and extradiegetic, fictive and real, for its participating audience. By superimposing image on real festival, the song in performance transmutes the fire perceptible before our eyes into the family hearth "blooming with red roses" (18b), the radiant Morning Star (24), the "beam of noble deeds unquenchable always" (42), and, finally, the beacon fire of hymns to be kindled for Melissos (61) before it locates us above the Elektran Gates, where a beam of flame rises all night like a planet (65).[74] And as with the Achaian monument, these visual effects may also be triangulated through the Homeric intertexts they conjure up for the listener or viewer.

At the same time, even as the ode locates "us Thebans" at a specific civic festival above the Elektran Gates, observing a column of flame kicking the upper air, it mobilizes its dazzling light effects to map out or superimpose the entire cosmos upon that Theban ground. Thus Isthmian 4 mentions a series of Greek places circling out from Thebes—Onchestos (19), Corinth (20), Athens (25), Sikyon (26)—but also encompasses the limits of the earth—the Pillars of Herakles in the far west (12), Troy in the east (54b), and Libya in the south (53b–54b)—before ascending with Herakles to the "golden houses" of Olympos itself (55–60).[75] This is the reach of the song's "beam of noble deeds," "over the all-fruited earth and through the sea" (41–42).[76]

The Light of Architecture / The Architecture of Light: Nemean 3

Nemean 3, for Aristokleidas of Aegina, likewise narrativizes its light effects, but in order to transform the poem in performance into an imaginary "temple of song." It thereby draws together many of the themes we have been tracing thus far. Here, Pindar directly identifies the hymn in performance with an *agalma*, "the pleasing ornament of the place" (13), and he frames its concluding triad with images of light shining out over great distances (64, 84). But now the poet assimilates this *agalma* to a metaphorical building, one whose façade or architectural ornament (*kosmos*) sends forth a "light far-shining" that arcs to the ends of the earth, much as the Lindian temple would have done in reality.

Pindar opens with a striking conjunction of metaphors: the men of the chorus, he declares, are "builders of honey-sounding revels," μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων (4–5). The poem, in its performance as a *kōmos*, is thus a built thing, a work of architecture, even as it is sweet as honey. The connection is not as forced as it may seem, for it merely combines familiar tropes: the sweetness of poetry is a commonplace, and bees are famous builders (Pindar speaks of "the fretted work of bees," μελισσᾶν . . . τρητὸν πόνον, i.e., the honeycomb, at P.6.54). Yet the line announces motifs that will recur throughout the poem. Nemean 3 is full of architectural imagery and even refers to specific structures in Aegina town and elsewhere. It thereby shows how light, *agalmata*, and poetry combine to articulate a built environment in four dimensions.

To begin with, Pindar directly evokes two structures or sites in Aegina town (fig. 3.4). At line 14 he speaks of its "long-famed agora," παλαίφατον ἀγοράν. Later, at lines 69–70, he mentions the "august Thearion of the Pythian one," σεμνόν . . . Πυθίου Θεάριον, a building associated by the scholia with Apollo Pythios and civic magistrates (*theōroi* or *archontes*).[77] Although the town was fairly small, its wall enclosing an area scarcely more than 1.5 km^2, archaeologists have not been able to pinpoint either structure. The Thearion seems to have stood on Kolonna hill, a short promontory that juts westward into the sea and sheltered a military harbor on its southern flank (fig. 3.5). A late Archaic temple of Apollo crowned the hill, and the Thearion must have stood nearby.[78] Ruins of a massive Middle Bronze Age settlement on the site seem to have provided rich fodder for later mythopoesis, and Kolonna hill and its environs were home to numerous small shrines, almost certainly including banqueting facilities, an Artemision mentioned by Pausanias and possibly an open-air sanctuary to Aiakos and the tomb of Aiakos's son, the hero Phokos ("the Seal").[79] The agora, meanwhile, must have been reasonably close to the port, either at the base of the Kolonna promontory or some distance to the south. In Pindar's day, of course, the topographic specificity will have been unmistakable. Tellingly, perhaps, the reference to the agora comes fourteen lines into the poem; the reference to the Thearion, fourteen lines from the end. Linked in perfect symmetry, the two sites bookend the main body of the song and situate it firmly in Aegina town (more than a few scholars have suggested, in fact, that the Thearion was its original performance venue).[80]

In two closely related passages Pindar incorporates the language of votive dedication into the ode. First, at lines 12–13, he identifies his poem as an *agalma*, that is, an "ornament" or "pleasing gift" to a god: the hymn "will have graceful labor as the land's ornament" (χαρίεντα δ' ἕξει πόνον | χώρας ἄγαλμα). There is a connection between this image and the earlier suggestion that the men of the chorus are "builders of honey-sounding revels." The term *ponos*, which here characterizes the hymn itself, elsewhere refers to the building activity of bees: as we have seen, Pindar calls the honeycomb "the fretted work of bees" (μελισσᾶν . . . τρητὸν πόνον, P.6.54). Truly to

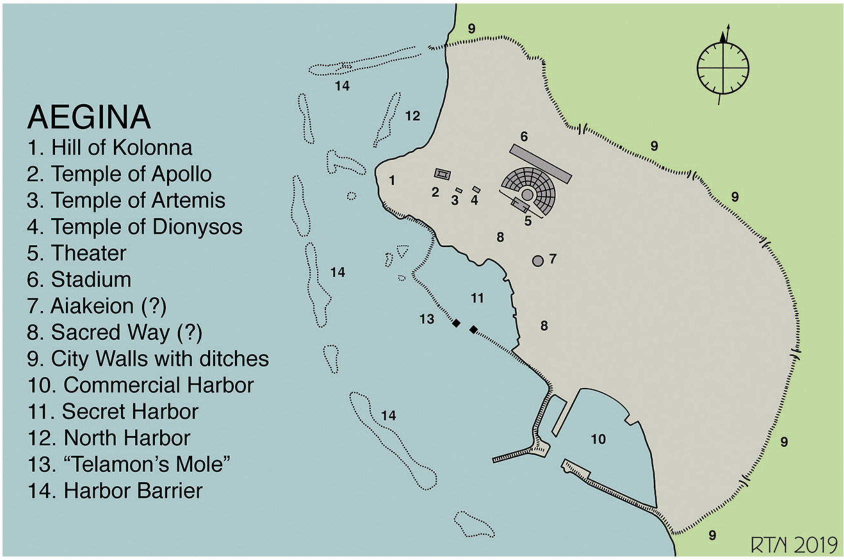
AEGINA
1. Hill of Kolonna
2. Temple of Apollo
3. Temple of Artemis
4. Temple of Dionysos
5. Theater
6. Stadium
7. Aiakeion (?)
8. Sacred Way (?)
9. City Walls with ditches
10. Commercial Harbor
11. Secret Harbor
12. North Harbor
13. “Telamon’s Mole”
14. Harbor Barrier
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Fig. 3.4. Aegina: plan of town. Drawing by R. Neer after H. Walter 1993. Use of original plan by kind permission of Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH.

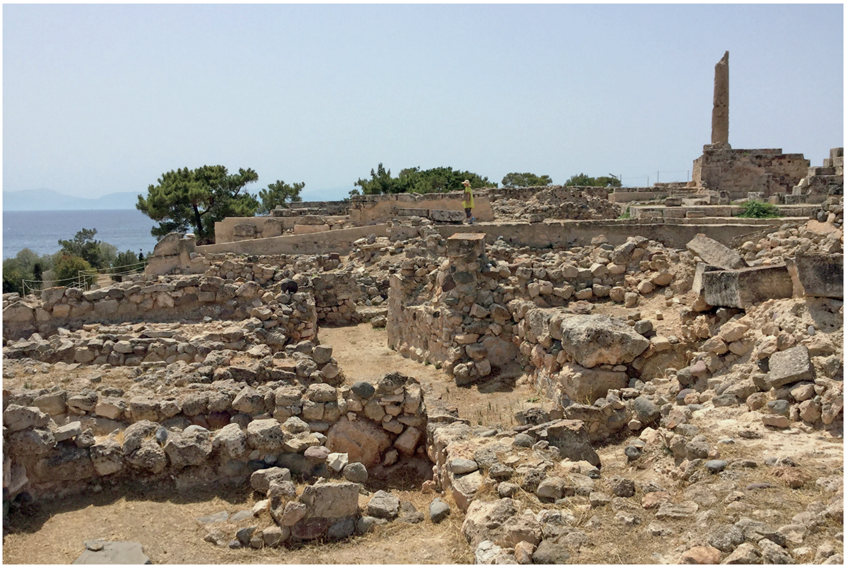

Fig. 3.5. Aegina: Kolonna hill looking west, with the temple of Apollo in the background. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

understand the conceit, however, we must turn to Bacchylides. The latter refers to himself as a "clear-voiced island bee," νασιῶτιν . . . λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν, who will make a "deathless *agalma* of the Muses," ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα, for his patron (Bacch. 10.10-11). This link between bee and *agalma* is effectively a gloss on Pindar, helping us to see the connection between Nemean 3's two conceits: crudely, Pindar's chorus builds revels as bees build their comb, and the resulting monument is at once a labor of grace and an *agalma* of the land in its spatial extension.

Just a few lines later, the poet tells how Herakles set up a pair of columns at the westernmost end of the Mediterranean:

οὐκέτι πρόσω
ἀβάταν ἅλα κιόνων ὕπερ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,
ἥρως θεὸς ἃς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας
μάρτυρας κλυτάς· (N.3.20-23)

> It is not easy to go yet further across the untracked sea beyond the columns of Herakles, which the hero-god set up as glorious witnesses of his furthest sailing.

Although the Pillars of Herakles are not usually considered *agalmata*—they are more like boundary stones, turning posts, or *tropaia*, signaling to the hero that it is time to head back home—the verb ἔθηκε recalls the dedicatory formula "So-and-so *anethēken*," "So-and-so dedicated this" or "set this up."[81] More importantly, perhaps, this is the only place where Pindar refers to the "Pillars of Herakles" as κίονες, "columns" rather than *stelai*.[82] The soaring column dedication was especially popular on Aegina itself: the island has yielded as many as eleven examples of the type, notably from Kolonna.[83] This archaeological reality suggests that when Pindar's Herakles "sets up" columns at the ends of the earth, his action inevitably bears comparison with the Aeginetan habit of setting up columns back at home. The poet himself takes the cue and promptly reverts to his main theme:

θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπάν
ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεαι;
Αἰακῷ σε φαμὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν. (N.3.26-28)

> Heart, to what foreign headland are you turning aside my sailing? I bid you to bear the Muse to Aiakos and his race.

That is, the reference to setting up columns "reminds" the poet of his true destination: the Kolonna sanctuary, site of so many Aeginetan column dedications and perhaps of the Aiakeion as well, which would then be on a properly Aeginetan headland (ἄκρα) jutting into the sea.

But these "columns" may also evoke the columns of a temple, for architectural images now crowd thick and fast. "Seek at home," Pindar exhorts his heart, "for you have been allotted a suitable ornament to sing something sweet" (οἴκοθεν μάτευε. ποτίφορον δὲ κόσμον ἔλαχες | γλυκύ τι γαρυέμεν, 31–32). The phrase picks up, yet again, the conjunction of honey-sweetness, verbal celebration, and building. Thus γλυκύ τι γαρυέμεν echoes μελιγαρύων of line 4, inviting us to understand κόσμος, which can be any sort of ordering or ornament, as also naming the decorated entablature of a Greek temple.[84] Pindar himself uses the term with this sense in fr. 194 SM. Having laid a foundation (*krēpis*) for songs, he proposes to build a *kosmos* upon it, a building whose décor effectively speaks words:

> κεκρότηται χρυσέα κρηπὶς ἱεραῖσιν ἀοιδαῖς·
> εἶα τειχίζωμεν ἤδη ποικίλον
> κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων
>
> A golden foundation has been laid/beaten out for holy songs. Come, let us now build an elaborate speaking ornament (*kosmos*) consisting of words.

Something similar is on offer in Nemean 3. Having announced that the poem is the work of τέκτονες and mentioned "columns" (κίονες), Pindar launches into an account of the deeds of the Aiakidai: first, in rapid succession, the adventures of Peleus (32–36), then Telamon's Sack of Troy and Amazonomachy (36–39), and finally, more expansively, the youthful deeds of Achilleus, culminating in his participation in the second Trojan War (43–64). These narratives stand in relation to Pindar's virtual building of song rather as architectural sculpture might stand in relation to a temple. At least one and perhaps two of the myths in question actually decorated the late sixth-century temple of Apollo on the Kolonna hilltop: an Amazonomachy on the west pediment and, just possibly, an Ilioupersis on the east pediment.[85] This correspondence is hardly surprising given the importance of the Aiakidai to Aeginetan history: both Pindar and the sculptors likely drew upon the same repertoire of local myth.[86] Nonetheless, the iconographic analogy between Pindar's metaphorical building of song and the *kosmēsis* of the largest and most important temple in Aegina town itself encourages us to explore the song's architecture a bit further.

Pindar's language is evocative. For example, he disposes Telamon's exploits—the first Sack of Troy and Amazonomachy—so that each episode occupies two lines balanced at the turn from the second antistrophe to the epode. Thus these two juxtaposed mythological scenes may initially gesture toward the two pediments of the temple of Apollo on Kolonna. This effect is reinforced by the unique adjective Pindar attaches to the Amazons in the first line of the epode, where, if we follow Mullen's reconstruction, the chorus pauses from its circular dance and stands.[87] Pindar specifies that the Amazons of his tale had arrows or bows made of bronze (χαλκότοξον, 38). This bizarre *hapax* has caused consternation among commentators; arrows or bows of bronze make little sense save as an allusion to the bronze attachments that typically graced architectural sculpture.[88] In short, Pindar likens his building of song to the temple on Kolonna, infusing his own mythological narrative with evocations of architecture and architectural sculpture. The distinction between Anatolia and Aegina, the events and their retelling, tends to blur, such that the historical Telamon seems to fight sculpted ("bronze-bowed") Amazons.[89]

In these terms, it is significant that the Amazonomachy of the second epode is eventually balanced against Achilleus's expedition to Troy (prominently named, line 60) in the third epode. On this reading, the two interior epodes of the ode's four triads come to stand symmetrically as the two pediments of a temple, as the poem in performance develops with a kind of cubist aesthetic that first flattens and then unfolds its pedimental *kosmos*.[90] It is tempting in this light to see an additional architectural resonance in the "swift eagle" of the final epode (αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς, 80). Scholars have understood the eagle as figuring the sublime speed and accuracy of the poet's craft, compensating for the "lateness" of the song, or they have applied it to the youthful pankration victor, swooping down on his lesser opponents.[91] Both associations are undoubtedly present. But αἰετός is also an architectural term, designating the gable of a building, whose shape suggests a great bird with wings outstretched; Pindar uses or alludes to the term in this sense in both Paian 8 and Olympian 13.[92] Thus the swiftly swooping eagle fixed in Nemean 3's last "stand" seems to be one final architectural pun, in case we missed the pedimental references of the poem's two interior epodes.

The fourth and final triad connects this elaborate architectural conceit to the thematics of light. If the two middle triads of Nemean 3 construct a sung temple of Apollo before our eyes, the last triad registers its radiance, locates us at the nearby Thearion, and invites us in for a celebratory drink of song. After the "pedimental" vignette with which the third triad ends—Achilleus fixed in his resolve to deprive Memnon of his return home—the fourth triad begins with abrupt asyndeton:

> τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν·
> Ζεῦ, τεὸν γὰρ αἷμα, σέο δ’ ἀγών, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν
> ὀπὶ νέων ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων.
> βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρέπει,
> ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλέι προσέθηκε λόγῳ
> καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις
> Πυθίου Θεάριον. ἐν δὲ πείρᾳ τέλος
> διαφαίνεται ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται, (N.3.64-71)

> Light far-shining of the Aiakidai is fixed from here/from there. Zeus, [I call upon you], for yours is the blood, and yours the contest that the hymn has struck, sounding with the voice of young men as a local joy. A shout is suitable for the victorious Aristokleidas, who attached this island to a glorious account and attached the august Thearion of the Pythian one to splendid athletic ambitions. But it is in the attempt that the end of those things in which one proves oneself superior spreads its light abroad.

The invocation to Zeus and its explanation in lines 65–66, "for yours is the blood, and yours the contest that the hymn has struck, sounding with the voice of young men as a local joy," sends us back to the language of the poem's opening, where we also have "hymn," Zeus, and the "voice of young men": νεανίαι (5); ὄπα (5); οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι (10); ὕμνον (11). At the same time, the aorist ἔβαλεν (65) tells us that the hymn, only in prospect at the beginning of the song, has been completed; the temple that the "young men, builders of revels," stood ready to construct is now built.[93] Thus ἐπιχώριον χάρμα (66) resumes the "honey-sounding *kōmoi*" of lines 4–5, χαρίεντα . . . πόνον | χώρας ἄγαλμα of lines 12–13, and the κόσμον of line 31, reinforcing the architectural conceit. Given all this, it is tempting to suggest that it is the freshly narrated façade of Pindar's "temple of song" that sends forth "light far-shining" at the beginning of the fourth triad (64).

Like the elaborate "porch of song" erected at the opening of Olympian 6 (which we will consider in more detail in chapter 7), metaphorical architecture gives out light; it is τηλαυγές (N.3.64; cf. O.6.4).

But with αὐτόθεν at the end of line 64, things become more complicated still. Is the "far-shining light of the Aiakidai" fixed "from here" (from Aegina now) or "from there" (from Troy in the heroic age)? Scholars split on their interpretation of αὐτόθεν.[94] In fact the word is perfectly ambiguous, a shifter that registers the power of the poet's radiant *kosmos* or *agalma* to collapse time and space. Light arcs between Troy and the site of celebration, the Thearion and temple of Apollo in Aegina town. We have seen this doubleness before: the duplex light of the Aiakidai reiterates the ambiguity of those bronze-bowed Amazons who belong in the here and now of an Aeginetan pediment even as they fight Telamon a long time ago in an Eastern homeland far away.

Light effects linked to architecture then continue to play through these lines. The victor Aristokleidas, we are told, has "attached this island to a glorious account and attached the august Thearion of the Pythian one to splendid athletic ambitions" (68–70). Μέριμναι is a quasi-technical term in the epinikia for "athletic ambitions," and Aristokleidas has made the Thearion itself "radiant" or "splendid" (ἀγλααῖσι) by suturing his aspirations to it.[95] "But," the poet continues, "it is in the attempt that the end or culmination (τέλος) of those things in which one proves oneself superior spreads its light abroad" (διαφαίνεται, 71). Just as the light of the Aiakidai arcs between Aegina and Troy in the east, the victor's success implicitly (through the echo of τέλος from N.3.25) spreads its beams from the Thearion to the Pillars of Herakles in the west.[96] The very last lines of the poem root this διαφαίνεται in the real landscape of Greece, anchoring the victor's light at the sites of the games where he has won victories: "But for you, through the favor of beautiful-throned Kleio, thanks to your determination for victory, light shines from Nemea and from Epidauros and Megara" (Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ᾽ ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος, 83–84). Competition and victory construct a scintillating network of radiant locations, linking the Thearion (where "we" are) to a circuit of places where the victor's success "shines out."

At the same time, there is a countervailing tendency in the poem's last triad to locate us and the victor right here at the site of the victory celebration. We zoom in, as it were, first to "this island" (68); then to "the Thearion of the Pythian one" (70); then, at the end of the sequence of different virtues belonging to different age classes, to "that which lies right before us" (τὸ παρκείμενον, 75). At this point the poet concludes triumphantly, addressing the victor (still with spatial imagery), "From these things you are not absent" (τῶν οὐκ ἄπεσσι, 76).[97] Having located the victor right here, at the Thearion, the poet invites him (and us) in for a drink:

> χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
> πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
> σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ᾽ ἔερσ᾽ ἀμφέπει,
> πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν, (N.3.76-79)

> Hail, friend. I send you this, honey mixed with white milk, and foaming dew surrounds it, a drink of song amidst Aiolian blasts of pipes. . . .

Χαῖρε, φίλος conventionally attends a toast and the offering of a cup.[98] And indeed, the poet immediately affirms that he is sending a magical "drink of song," all golden honey, white milk, and foaming dew. Here the combined imagery of building and sweetness of the "young men, builders of honey-voiced *kōmoi*" of the poem's opening (4–5) returns, now disaggregated into the Thearion and the celebratory drink.[99]

These countervailing spatializing tendencies in the last triad of Nemean 3—of light permanently linking far-distant places contrasted with our rootedness and sensuous enjoyment of festivity right here—are akin to the interpenetration of diegetic and extradiegetic space accomplished by early Classical statue groups. For the poem locates us insistently on this particular patch of Aeginetan ground but, through its constructed "temple of song," superimposes on this place the western bourne of Herakles's exploration (21–26), the place where Telamon fought the Amazons (38–39), the "stone house" of Cheiron (53–54), and the Trojan plain, where Achilleus despoiled Memnon of his light (59–63).[100] In fact it is more complicated still, because here the actual monuments that make up what we are calling extradiegetic space themselves interleave diegetic and extradiegetic spaces. This is the function of architectural sculpture itself—to superimpose now and then, Kolonna with the land of the Amazons and the plain of Troy. In these terms, the poem registers but also intensifies and proliferates these visual effects. And this dialectic of near and far, real and imaginary space, is captured and emblematized by the ambiguous shifter αὐτόθεν (64).

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We have seen how Pindar both incorporates radiant *agalmata* into his song and fashions his own precious wrought ornaments of song, which extend the light of *agalmata* even further. Most of all, the poems in performance work as assemblages in four dimensions, mobilizing ambient monuments and topography in the service of remarkable visual effects akin to those of early Classical sculpture. As for the syntax of space constituted by the performance of religious song (so well illustrated by the Molpoi Decree), we will consider a very similar topothetic operation of song on landscape in the next chapter—Pindar's dithyramb for Athens ordering and disposing the topography of the Archaic agora.

CHAPTER FOUR

Fr. 75 SM and the Politics of Athenian Space

Chapters 2 and 3 laid out the tools and possibilities for topopoesis through a set of brief case studies. Chapter 2 reviewed an assortment of ways in which signs and wonders, *sēmata* and *thaumata*, articulated the Greek landscape—and intervened to constitute regions and territories as such. The artifacts in question included simple cubes of stone, boundary markers, statues, multifigure sculptural groups, beacons—and poems. All, however, employed a consistent set of strategies to make space meaningful, to stitch the mere concatenation of entities (roads and harbors, hills and meadows, votive gifts and public squares) into cogent locales. Sculpture did so variously through paratactic *enfilades* and complex, multifigure narratives; poetry, from epigram to the paians of the Milesian Molpoi, exploited syntax, meter, and performance as technologies of place-making. Next, chapter 3 argued that Pindaric epinikion mobilized similar resources to effect its own topopoetics with even greater complexity. These poems construct virtual microenvironments through the strategic embedding of talismanic artifacts, while they also (as themselves *agalmata*) magnify the reach and scope of their own wondrous radiance and thereby stitch together multiple different locations within each poem to constitute a magical epinikian geography. Olympian 7, we argued, stands as an emblem and literal instantiation of these startling epinikian effects, serving simultaneously as a performance and an artifact, a poem of gold shining out high above a harbor.

With this chapter, we return to a distinction developed in chapter 1—that between traditional cult poetry and the peculiar adaptation of that form in epinikion—to complete the initial arc of our argument. Recall that cult poetry (unlike the wildly mobile, wide-ranging adaptation of epinikion) tends to be firmly rooted in a particular place, and studded with deictics and references to local landmarks.[1] Choral lyric, as we have stressed, is uniquely suited to the articulation of space because its performance involves ambient singers: measured speech combines with measured pace.

Here we explore how cult poetry, which is resolutely local and specific, works *in situ* by means of an extended example: Pindar's fragment 75 SM, a dithyramb for the Athenians. At the same time, by going back to cult poetry rooted in local space, we intend to initiate a development of our broader argument through expanding spatial circles or zones. As we hope to show, this fragment provides a particularly clear example of how the chorus, in performance, could effect the veritable *kosmēsis* of a cityscape—in this case, democratic Athens. This function, however, only becomes visible through a combination of literary and archaeological evidence. Our hope is that putting these two domains of evidence together will shed new light on both—the poem will help us solve problems in the archaeological record and, conversely, the archaeological record will help us solve problems in the poem. As will become clear, the articulation of urban space is political in every sense. Yet our argument will be less about political history in the traditional sense, and more about the ordering of bodies in space, as this is mediated or constructed by Pindar's poetic *sophia*. This is to attend to the way Pindar works in three dimensions, as it were, to produce meaningful relations amongst entities in the world.

Orientation in the Greek City

How did one navigate the urban environment in Pindar's day?[2] In the absence of street addresses, postal codes, and the like, Archaic and Classical Greeks often found their way by using landmarks.[3] Statues and shrines were convenient devices for organizing space; they could define regions and zones variously from within, radiating a "sphere of influence," or from the edges, establishing a border. As an example of the first, Aristophanes uses the Tyrannicides and the Eponymous Heroes as synecdoches for the agora: in *Assemblywomen* (391 BCE), Praxagora declares that she will have ballot boxes set up "in the agora alongside Harmodios, and have everyone draw lots" (εἲς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω, | κᾆτα στήσασα παρ' Ἁρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας, *Assemblywomen*, 681–82; cf. *Lysistrata* 631–34); in *Peace* (421 BCE), a bumpkin learns that he has been called up for duty when he makes his way "to the statue of Pandion" (πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Πανδίονος, 1183).[4] In like fashion, Lysias speaks of "the barbershop by the Herms," referring to the northern end of the Classical agora (τὸ κουρεῖον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς, Lysias 23.3).[5] A statue, in these cases, establishes a region of the urban landscape as its *vicinity* or *environs*. At an extreme, a statue could define an entire town: one might think of Athens, for instance, as a region under the protection of the ancient statue of Athena on the Acropolis, the sphere of influence of a tutelary deity.[6] Thus the festival of the Plynteria, when the statue left the *astu* and processed to Phaleron for its annual bath in the sea, was a moment when the very integrity of the state was vulnerable; and when the Athenians evacuated to Salamis in 480 BCE, naturally the goddess went with them.[7] During the heyday of the Athenian Empire, *horoi* on Samos and Kos identified sacred land with variants of the formula Ἀθεναία Ἀθενõν Μεδέοσα, "Athena who guards/rules over Athens," extending the compass of the goddess's control across the Aegean.[8]

As with statues, so with sanctuaries. Herodotus (5.63.4) locates the grave of a Spartan in this way: "The burial place of Anchimolios in Attica is at Alopeke, near the shrine of Herakles in Kynosarges" (Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ). Demosthenes (18.129) likewise takes the Theseion as a convenient landmark: "Shall I tell how your father Tromes was a slave at the house of Elpias who taught letters by the Theseion?" (πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα). Everyone knew that the assassination of Hipparchos took place near the sanctuary of the daughters of Leokoros: thus Thucydides (1.20.1, 6.57.3), Demosthenes (54.7, 8) and pseudo-Aristotle (*Constitution of the Athenians* 18.3).[9]

Official documents adopted the same approach. An Athenian ordinance of the 430s takes a precinct of Herakles—perhaps the very one that Herodotus mentions—as the point of reference for regulating industrial activity: "Do not wash skins in the Ilissos above the sanctuary of Herakles."[10] The Attic Stelai of 414 BCE, auctioning off the property of the Hermokopidai, mention a house in Kydathenaion "next to [the sanctuary] of Artemis Amarysia from Athmonon," an "estate at Ankyle on the south of the hill where the sanctuary . . . is," "a building plot, swampy and a wasteland, by the Pythion," and "another estate by the Herakleion."[11] In all of these cases, the landmark establishes a relation of propinquity such that everything is relative to its fixed position. One function of a sanctuary—and not necessarily an ancillary one—was to establish vicinities and environs in this way.

Sanctuaries were also good for marking boundaries: they could be peripheral as well as central. The same Attic Stelai use the Aiakeion in the agora to mark the border of the deme Kollytos.[12] At a larger scale, a fifth-century inscription formalizes the border between Tylissos and Knossos on Crete with reference to a congeries of peaks, channels, and sanctuaries:

"Boundaries of the land: Boar's Mount and the Eagles and the Artemision and the *temenos* of Archos, and the river, and through the White Passage and Agathoia following the course of the rainwater, and the Rock."[13] François de Polignac has famously described the importance of sanctuaries in marking out territory in the emergence of the city-state; perhaps the clearest examples are the so-called *ceintures sacrées*, or "sacred belts," at Megara Hyblaia, Cyrene, and elsewhere, cordons of sanctuaries surrounding a colonial settlement to demarcate an intermediate zone between settlement and *chōra*.[14]

Sequential arrangement of such landmarks produces an itinerary: a movement, in effect, from paradigm to syntagm.[15] We have seen this process at work already in the Molpoi Decree from Miletos. But formal ritual was not a necessary condition for the making of an itinerary. Evangilos Kyriakidis has argued that the Tylissos inscription describes a descent from mountaintops ("Boar's Mount" and "the Eagles"), down waterways and past sanctuaries, toward lower ground and perhaps even the sea.[16] Xenophon, like Lysias, uses the Herms to signify the northern end of the agora but adds the City Eleusinion when he imagines a cavalry procession:

> Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἴομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. . . . Ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.
>
> I think that the processions would be most pleasing both to the gods and to the spectators if the cavalry were to honor all of the gods who have shrines and statues in the agora, starting from the Herms and proceeding around in a circle. . . . Then when after their ride around the agora they reach the Herms again, it would be a fine thing, in my opinion, for the cavalry to gallop in tribal contingents from the Herms as far as the Eleusinion. (Xenophon, *Cavalry Commander* 3.2–3, trans R. Wycherley, modified)

A similar combination of sculpture and architecture could yield a makeshift street address. Thus, a character in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochos* tells how to locate a person's house: "As soon as we were going along the road by the wall, at the Itonian gate—he lived near the gate by the stele of the Amazon (πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ)—we found him."[17]

These combinations of landmarks and streets comprise the raw material for the exercise of civic power. Perhaps the richest astynomic inscription from the Archaic and Classical periods is the so-called Harbor Stele from Thasos, a law of ca. 470-460 BCE regulating street maintenance.[18] It defines its area of application by means of sanctuaries, public buildings, and the sea. The following excerpts give the flavor:

> From the road of the shrine of the Charites, in this road let him not make a threshold nor draw water. . . . From the shrine of Herakles as far as the sea, let the supervisors clean this road. . . . From the shrine of the Charites up to the buildings where are the money-exchange and the symposion and along the road by the prytaneion, between these let him not throw out or put out dung.[19]

Within these zones, the law regulates comportment, especially that of women: "On the roof of public buildings in this road, let no one go up for the sake of seeing nor shall a woman look from the windows" (θῆς ἕνεκεν μηδὲς ἀναβαινέτω μηδὲ γυνὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν θυρίδων θήσθω, 30–33). Although the rationale for this ordinance is debated, the substance is clear.[20] It is as though the city wished to prevent its inhabitants, females in particular, from getting a good vantage on the streets: the law actively proscribes what Purves calls a "eusynoptic" view and enforces a ground-level, hodological one.[21]

These texts, and others like them, give a vivid sense of how Classical Greeks found their way around in urban environments. This point is not terribly surprising, yet the broader implications bear emphasis. Landmarks did not just articulate one space with another: they articulated spaces and power. Shrines and statues defined particular zones within which the city-state might exercise authority (e.g., "from the shrine of Herakles as far as the sea"). The exercise of *archē* consists not only in the regulation of behavior within such zones, but also in *the definition of what counted as a zone in the first place*. This articulation does not happen of itself. It is, on the contrary, one of the primary motivations of monumentalization broadly defined.

It is here that choral lyric comes into its own. Poetry does not baldly regulate behavior in the manner of a legal text (although something like Hesiod's *Works and Days* or the elegies of Tyrtaios and Theognis could be quite direct in laying down rules of comportment). Choral lyric in performance can, however, stitch up or otherwise articulate landmarks and spaces into cogent wholes, a process that we shall call *kosmēsis*. In the case of the Molpoi Decree, as noted in chapter 2, we lack both the paians in question and detailed knowledge of the way stations at which they were sung. Yet, as we have seen, Pindar allows us to approach the topic from a different direction. We have the poems, and we often know a great deal about the sites. This is especially true of Pindar's cult poetry, deeply enmeshed in a particular performance site.

• • •

Dionysios of Halikarnassos provides us with the first nineteen lines of a Pindaric dithyramb for the Athenians, quoted as a sample of the "austere style" in poetry:

Δεῦτ᾽ ἐν χορόν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἵ τ᾽ ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντ᾽
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ᾽ εὐκλέ᾽ ἀγοράν·
ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων τᾶν τ᾽ ἐαρι-
δρόπων ἀοιδᾶν,
Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ
ἴδετε πορευθέντ᾽ ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον
ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν,
τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν,
γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελπόμεν⟨οι⟩
γυναικῶν τε Καδμεϊᾶν {Σεμέλην}.
ἐναργέα τ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ὥτε μάντιν οὐ λανθάνει,
φοινικοεάνων ὁπότ᾽ οἰχθέντος Ὡρᾶν θαλάμου
εὔοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα.
τότε βάλλεται, τότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀμβρόταν χθόν᾽ ἐραταί
ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται,
ἀχεῖ τ᾽ ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς,
οἰχνεῖ τε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί.

[Come] here to the chorus and send glorious grace upon it, Olympian gods, you who approach the much-trodden fragrant-with-incense navel-stone of the city in holy Athens and the all-decorated, famous agora. Receive a share of crowns bound with violets and songs culled in the spring, and look [with favor] upon me as I go from Zeus with the radiance of songs secondly to the ivy-knowing god, whom we mortals call Roarer (Bromios), whom we call

> Loud-shouter (Eriboas), singing and dancing in celebration of the offspring of the highest fathers and Kadmeian women. And clear [signs] do not escape my notice, as if I were a seer, when, with the chamber of the red-robed Horai opened, nectareous plants lead on the spring so that it is fragrant. Then, then the lovely locks of violets are cast upon the ambrosial earth, and roses are mixed with hair, and voices of songs resound with the accompaniment of pipes, and choruses approach Semele with her circular headband.

Pindar's first datable extant poem (P.10) was composed for a victory in 498 BCE; his last (P.8) for a victory in 446 BCE. Within the poet's active career of more than fifty years, we have no way of dating this dithyramb fragment.[22] As for the performance context, the prominent references to Dionysos and the coming of spring strongly suggest a Dionysiac festival. This is more likely to be the City Dionysia in late March than the Anthesteria in late February; for the latter festival, in fact, we have no certain evidence for dithyrambic performances.[23]

Given Pindar's opening invocation of the Olympian gods to come to the "all-decorated, famous agora," most scholars have taken the "much-trodden, fragrant-with-incense *omphalos*" of line 3, coordinated with ἀγοράν by τ(ε) in line 5, to designate the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian agora.[24] This altar was the "kilometer zero" of Athens, the notional center of the polis as a whole—or, in Pindar's figure, its *omphalos*, or "navel."[25] A natural consequence is that the poem was in fact intended for performance in the agora: the chorus summons the gods to that spot. This venue is not, in itself, especially remarkable. Although one might expect dithyrambs to be performed in the Theater of Dionysos, Xenophon mentions a tradition of choruses "going around in a circle" in the agora during the Dionysia. These choruses, he says, "gratify in addition the other gods and especially the Twelve by singing and dancing."[26] As L. R. Farnell and others have argued, Xenophon is probably referring to performances that formed part of the great festal procession that opened the City Dionysia (the *pompē*). This lavish parade included sacrifices, offerings, and probably both *phallophoroi* and the dithyrambic choruses led by their *chorēgoi* in full regalia.[27]

Such a performance context would accord remarkably well with what we have of Pindar's dithyramb. It helps to explain, for instance, the poem's opening invocation of the Olympian gods in a song ostensibly in honor of Dionysos; it might also account for the syntactic simplicity of this song.[28]

This is, then, not a dithyramb composed for competition by one tribal chorus of men or boys in a given year but instead a poem intended for performance by a (perhaps smaller?) choral group circling around the altars of various gods as part of the festival *pompē*.[29] Indeed, if fr. 75 SM was intended to be performed in this way, it is tempting to suggest that Dionysios of Halikarnassos might be quoting a substantial portion of the full text of the song (at least a third or a half of the whole), and that it might have been a composition that was performed regularly for many years at the Dionysia (hence its familiarity).[30]

Thus we consider the identification of Pindar's *omphalos* with the altar of the Twelve Gods compelling. But it is worth pausing over the poet's specific word choice. Although *omphalos* makes sense as a metaphor for the "zero kilometer" of Athens, it also evokes the holy *omphalos* at Pytho—a sense that the reference to *manteia* in line 13 only seems to confirm.[31] This Apolline element may seem out of place in a Dionysiac context, but it has its own motivation: at Athens, the altar of the Twelve Gods had a prior association with Apollo Pythios. Peisistratos the Younger—son of the tyrant Hippias and grandson of the tyrant Peisistratos—had dedicated both the altar of the Twelve Gods and the altar of Apollo Pythios during his archonship in 522/21 BCE (fig. 4.1). Thucydides (6.54.6-7) describes what were evidently famous acts of piety:

> τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοὔνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοὐπίγραμμα· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·
>
> μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱός
> θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

> For the rest, the city was left in full enjoyment of its existing laws, except that care was always taken to have one of the family among the archons. Among those relatives who held the yearly archonship at Athens was Peisistratos, son of the tyrant Hippias, and named after his grandfather, who when he was archon dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora, and that of Apollo in the Pythion. The Athenian people afterwards built

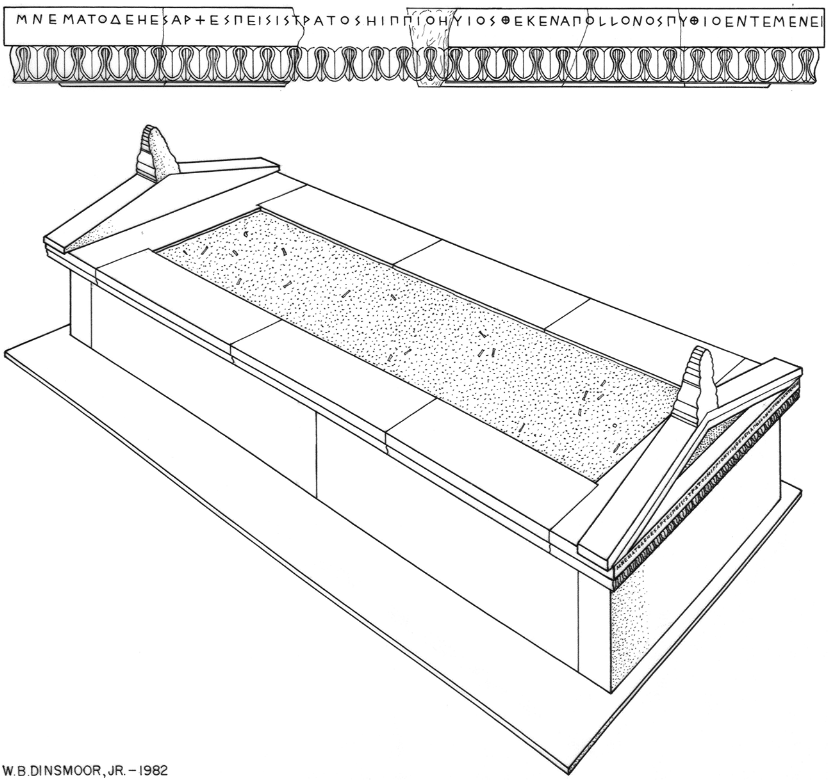

ΜΝΕΜΑΤΟΔΕΗΕΣΑΡΧΕΣΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΗΙΠΠΙΟΗΥΙΟΣΘΕΚΕΝΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣΠΥΘΙΟΕΝΤΕΜΕΝΕΙ
W.B.DINSMOOR, JR. – 1982

Fig. 4.1. Athens: altar of Apollo Pythios, dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger, with inscription. Drawing courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

> onto and lengthened the altar in the agora, and obliterated the inscription; but that in the Pythion can still be seen, though in faded letters, and is to the following effect:
>
> *Peisistratos son of Hippias set up this memorial of his archonship in the precinct of Apollo Pythios.*[32]

The Pythion inscription itself survives.[33] Thucydides, at any rate, is clear: Peisistratos's gestures lived on in Athenian memory thanks to commemorative inscriptions, to the point that the democracy at some later date felt compelled to take action. Pindar's metaphor seems particularly evocative in this light. Its juxtaposition of a (Pythian) *omphalos* with the altar of the Twelve Gods makes good sense given the day-to-day realities of Athenian public cult.

In what follows, we shall argue that Pindar's dithyramb was indeed performed by a *kuklios choros* circling around the altar of the Twelve Gods, as most scholars have assumed. But we shall also suggest that in Pindar's lifetime this monument was located in the old agora of Athens at the east end of the Acropolis. Set in this context, Pindar's poem offers us a set of coherent topographic cues that point us to the ancient shrines and cult centers in that neighborhood. This thematic of place is integral to the poem's purpose within the broader milieu of fifth-century Athens.

The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods and the Regulation of Space

The sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was, like many others, a place of refuge for fugitives. More importantly, and uniquely, its altar was the "kilometer zero," or *milliarium aureum*, for Athens: distances in Attica and beyond were measured to and from this spot.[34] A fifth-century inscription gives a sense of the altar's role in organizing the Athenian landscape:

[ἡ πόλις] ἔστ[η]σ[έν με β]ροτ[οῖς] μνημεῖον ἀληθὲς
    [πᾶσιν] σημαίνε[ιν μέ]τ[ρον] ὁδοιπορίας·
[ἔστιν γὰρ τ]ὸ μεταχσὺ θεῶμ πρὸς δώδεκα βωμὸν
    [πέντ᾽ ἐπὶ?] τεσσαράκοντ᾽ ἐγ λιμένος στάδιοι.

> The City set me, a truthful memorial, to sign to all mortals the measure of their journeying; the distance to the altar of the Twelve Gods from the Harbor is forty-five stades.[35]

The altar was, in short, a device for regulating Athenian space: it formalized the landscape in terms of political institutions.

The organization of space was a concern of the Peisistratidai, as of other Archaic tyrants. During this same period, Hipparchos son of Peisistratos—brother of Hippias and uncle of Peisistratos the Younger—erected herms at the halfway point between Athens and each of its subordinate townships, or demes. These semi-iconic monuments, hybrids of statues and boundary markers, organized the landscape relative to the city and its demes according to a metrical system, thereby making the regime visible on the ground. Like the altar, the herms were "topopoetic," or makers of places, in the sense that they constituted hitherto unmarked or unexceptional bits of landscape as meaningful within a larger matrix.[36]

Yet this system did not arise in a vacuum. Preceding both herms and altar were less centralized ways of "zoning" or "territorializing" the landscape. Mortuary precincts, many of them small and clan-based, punctuated the Attic countryside; they contained bright memorials—kouroi, korai, and stelai—that attested to the power of local elites in rural districts.[37] Boundary stones, *horoi*, were another method; their legitimacy could be contested, as is evident from Solon's triumphant claim to have "removed" them (see chapter 2).[38] Herms resembled these traditional markers in their pillarlike, aniconic aspect; they were certainly understood to have evolved from them and from the *Hermaioi lophoi*, small cairns that marked boundaries in Homer.[39] As iconic images, however, the herms also resembled statuary—another space-regulating technology (as we have seen). The Hipparchan herms were civic counterparts to these aristocratic grave monuments, recasting the landscape relative to the *astu* and the tyranny.

Each herm, accordingly, bore two inscriptions, one locating it in space and the other consisting of a gnomic epigram by Hipparchos himself ("This [is] a Reminder of Hipparchos: Walk with Just Intent," "This [is] a Reminder of Hipparchos: Deceive Not a Friend," and the like).[40] A surviving example reads:

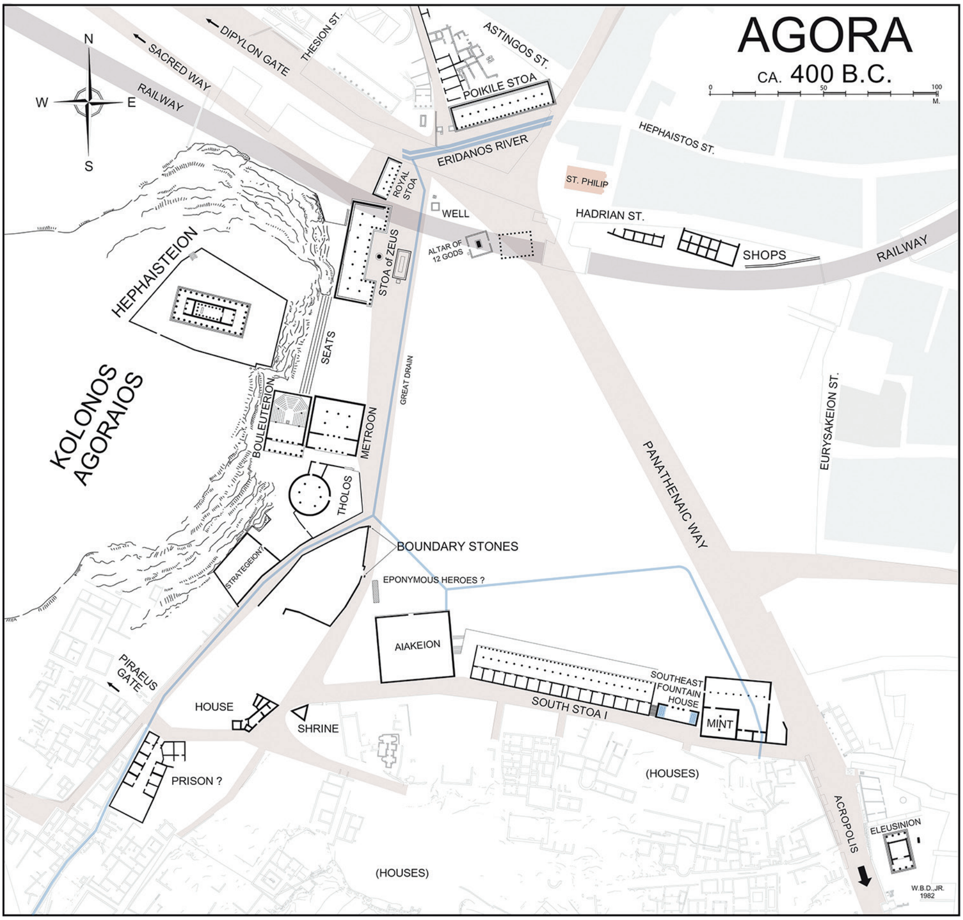
> [ἐ]ν μhέσοι Κεφαλε͂ς τε καὶ ἄστεος ἀγλαὸς hερμε͂ς |
>
> At the midpoint of Kephale and the town, radiant Hermes.[41]

This formulaic verse runs down one side of the herm. Down the other side, where the Hipparchan gnome would have been, the text seems deliberately to have been effaced; a curious form of *damnatio memoriae*, leaving the tyrant's name but effacing his words:[42]

> μνε͂μα τόδε hιπ⟨π⟩άρχο· [– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –].
>
> This [is] a reminder of Hipparchos: [——].

Made of bright, flashing stone, the "radiant" Hermes was visible from afar and thereby provided a point of reference for organizing the landscape; one might compare this *mnēma* of Hipparchos to the *mnēma* of Akeratos on Thasos (see chapter 2, pp. 63–66). One side of the herm acquitted its function with reference to the *astu* or town, the other with reference to the Peisistratid regime.

The altar of the Twelve Gods was the focal point of this system, like the spider at the center of a web. By evoking this monument, with reference specifically to its Peisistratid origin and its topopoetic function, Pindar points us to one theme of his dithyramb: the politics of space under democracy.


AGORA
CA. 400 B.C.
0
50
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M.
N
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E
S
SACRED WAY
DIPYLON GATE
THESION ST.
ASTINGOS ST.
RAILWAY
POIKILE STOA
ERIDANOS RIVER
HEPHAISTOS ST.
ST. PHILIP
ROYAL STOA
WELL
HADRIAN ST.
ALTAR OF 12 GODS
STOA of ZEUS
SHOPS
RAILWAY
HEPHAISTEION
SEATS
GREAT DRAIN
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
BOULEUTERION
METROON
EURYSAKEION ST.
PANATHENAIC WAY
THOLOS
BOUNDARY STONES
STRATEGEION?
EPONYMOUS HEROES ?
AIAKEION
PIRAEUS GATE
HOUSE
SHRINE
SOUTHEAST FOUNTAIN HOUSE
SOUTH STOA I
MINT
PRISON ?
(HOUSES)
ACROPOLIS
ELEUSINION
(HOUSES)
W.B.D.,JR. 1982

Fig. 4.2. Athens: plan of the agora at the Kerameikos, "the Classical agora," ca. 400 BCE. Drawing courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods: Archaeological Evidence

Precisely because the altar of the Twelve Gods was topopoetic in Athens, its exact location is a matter of some urgency for any understanding of Pindar's poem. The matter seems straightforward: Pindar locates the altar in the "all-decorated agora," and the American excavators seem to have found it in the Classical civic center north of the Acropolis, just opposite the stoa of Zeus (fig. 4.2).[43] Most of the precinct lies beneath the modern

Athens-Piraeus railway; only its southwest corner is accessible, excavated in 1934 and again in 1946 by the American School of Classical Studies. In 2011, work on the railway line briefly revealed more of the precinct; valuable salvage work was performed under the auspices of the 1st Ephoreia.[44]

The principal surviving elements are as follows (fig. 4.3):

- The sill of a low peribolos wall, reused as a foundation ("Sill 1").
- Another peribolos sill, resting atop the earlier one ("Sill 2").
- A few paving slabs from the interior of the *temenos*.
- Some fragments of what seems to be an altar, found underneath the pavement.

The identification of these remains with the Twelve Gods derives from the dedication of a statue base that abuts the exterior of the peribolos: "Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated [this] to the Twelve Gods" ([Λ]έαγρος ⁝ ἀνέθεκεν ⁝ Γλαύκονος δόδεκα θεοῖσιν) (fig. 4.4).[45] There is no other evidence for the identification, which has never, to our knowledge, been questioned.[46]

The original excavators associated the altar fragments and the first phase ("Sill 1") of the peribolos with Peisistratos the Younger, ca. 522/21, and dated the second phase ("Sill 2") and the interior pavement to the last third of the fifth century.[47] Laura Gadbery has shown, however, that the stratigraphic data only support a *terminus ante quem* of the late fifth century for the installation of Sill 1; there is no evidence for the placement of the sill prior to that date (fig. 4.5). Gadbery concluded that Sill 1, the parapet it supported, and the Leagros base must all have been "shifted from their original position and reused" in the late fifth century.[48]

When was the peribolos made, and where did it originally stand? As to the date, Gadbery noted that "the stratification tempts one to date the initial construction of the earlier parapet" to the late fifth century.[49] Yet she argued, tentatively, that Sill 1 and its accompanying parapet must be Archaic, on the basis of similarities with a small structure known to excavators as "the Eschara." Those similarities, however, are inconclusive, consisting primarily of chisel marks of a sort found on monuments ranging from early Archaic through late Classical.[50] Thus Nicoletta Saraga, in her publication of the recent salvage excavation, suggested that the earlier peribolos was either constructed or repaired *after* the Persian Wars.[51]

The original location of Sill 1 is equally obscure. There is no archaeological evidence to indicate where the blocks first stood—except that it must have been someplace other than where they stand now. Gadbery assumed

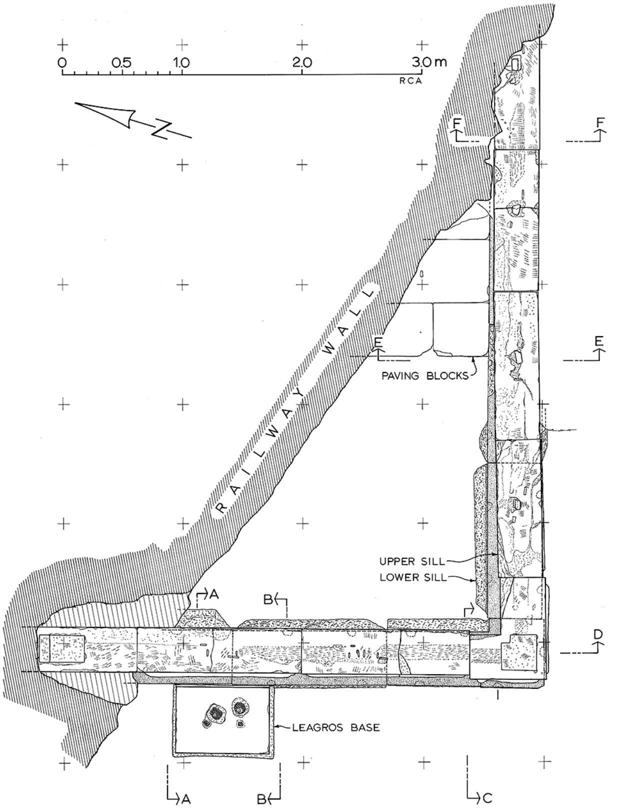
0
0.5
1.0
2.0
3.0 m
RCA
N
F
F
RAILWAY WALL
E
E
PAVING BLOCKS
UPPER SILL
LOWER SILL
A
B
D
LEAGROS BASE
A
B
C

Fig. 4.3. Athens: sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, site plan. This plan does not take into account recent salvage excavations. Drawing courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

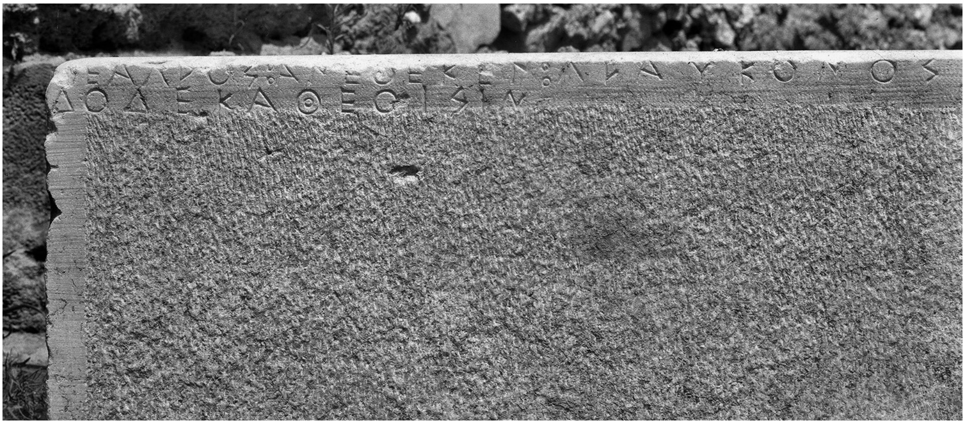
ΔΟΔΕΚΑΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ

Fig. 4.4. Athens: sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, statue base bearing dedication by Leagros alongside peribolos. Photograph courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

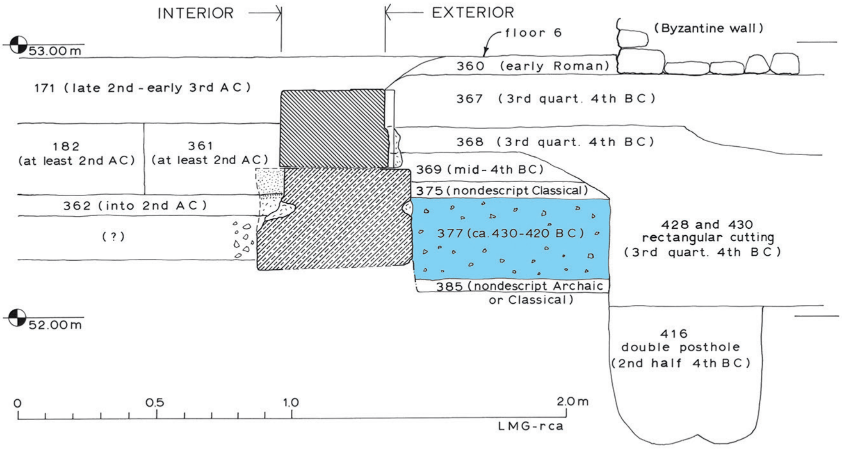
INTERIOR
EXTERIOR
floor 6
(Byzantine wall)
53.00 m
360 (early Roman)
171 (late 2nd - early 3rd AC)
367 (3rd quart. 4th BC)
182 (at least 2nd AC)
361 (at least 2nd AC)
368 (3rd quart. 4th BC)
369 (mid-4th BC)
375 (nondescript Classical)
362 (into 2nd AC)
(?)
377 (ca. 430-420 BC)
428 and 430 rectangular cutting (3rd quart. 4th BC)
385 (nondescript Archaic or Classical)
52.00 m
416 double posthole (2nd half 4th BC)
0
0.5
1.0
2.0 m
LMG-rca

Fig. 4.5. Athens: sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, section of peribolos. Note the material of ca. 430-420 BCE (no. 377, in blue) directly abutting the exterior face of the lower sill. Drawing courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

that "the Athenians would have hesitated to move the altar far from its original location, for this would have meant moving the zero point of the city."[52] Yet, as we shall see, the time may have come to revisit this assumption.

Summing up the account thus far: The earliest peribolos of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was erected sometime before the late fifth century, when it was moved to its current location. We do not know where it originally stood or when it was originally erected, although the most recent suggestion is that the initial construction occurred after the Persian Wars. During this same renovation in the late fifth century, the *temenos* was paved and, presumably, the altar renovated (explaining the debris beneath the pavement). The second peribolos (Sill 2) was added even later, in the fourth century.[53]

It is tempting to associate the fifth-century remodeling with the testimony of Thucydides (6.54.7) to the effect that at some unspecified date the Athenians enlarged and extended the Peisistratid altar in such a way as to obliterate its dedicatory inscription.[54] The historian does not say that the altar was moved at the same time, but that is what the archaeological evidence suggests. In general, we are suspicious of modern scholars' practice of second-guessing ancient authors and arguing *ex silentio* from what they "would" or "must" have said; nowhere is this habit more dubious than in the case of Thucydides, with his stringent standards of relevance. But context is important. At 6.54.6-7 (quoted above), Thucydides mentions that Peisistratos the Younger dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods and that of

Apollo Pythios only to support his larger point that the tyrants preferred to let the city use its established laws, while taking care that "one of their own" held office.[55] Peisistratos the Younger appears as an example of this policy, and Thucydides cites the two dedications to prove that he was indeed archon. He registers the demos's "later renovation" simply to account for the obliteration of the dedicatory inscription that would have proved his claim; for this reason, he goes on to quote the surviving epigram on the altar of Apollo Pythios.[56] In short, it was no part of Thucydides's brief to mention the relocation of the altar of the Twelve Gods; therefore it is not probative that he does not mention it. Thucydides's phrases τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ and τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ simply specify where the altar of the Twelve Gods was at the time of his writing.[57]

The Leagros base—on which the identification of the precinct entirely depends—seems to have arrived at the site as part of this same renovation toward the end of the fifth century. The lettering of the inscription resembles that on the preserved fragments of the base of the Tyrannicides group, suggesting a date in the early fifth century for the ensemble; since Leagros son of Glaukon had a *Kaloszeit* in the later sixth century, he is unlikely to have been in a position to make fancy dedications before the early fifth.[58] Originally the base supported a bronze statue. By the time the base reached its current location, however, the statue was gone—the Persian sack is a likely culprit, but we have no hard evidence. In the intervening decades the block had been repurposed as some sort of paving stone; the foot traffic was so heavy as to wear away the upper portion of the dedicatory inscription.[59] Presumably it served this function in the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods prior to the renovation, although the precise configuration of the sanctuary between the Persian sack and the end of the fifth century must remain unclear.[60] From Pindar we learn that the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was *polybatos*, "much walked-upon," and the Leagros base may show evidence of this traffic. After being placed alongside the new peribolos at the end of the fifth century, the base was partially buried, so that only its top 30% jutted out of the ground.[61]

It is unclear just what purpose this battered, half-buried stone was supposed to serve. It was, at best, some sort of ruin—a distinctively Athenian form of commemoration that Gloria Ferrari has discussed in detail, of which the most famous example is the inclusion of elements from the older temple of Athena Polias in the north wall of the Acropolis.[62]

The placement makes a bit more sense if, following Wilamowitz, Thompson, and others, we suppose that the altar of the Twelve Gods did double duty as an altar of Eleos, or Pity.[63] Leagros met his death in 464 BCE as leader of an ill-fated colonial expedition to Amphipolis, in the course of which ten thousand Athenians perished.[64] The ruins of his dedication, evoking both the Persian destruction and the disaster in Thrace, will have made a fitting adjunct to a newly renovated sanctuary of Pity and the Twelve at the end of the fifth century, at the very moment when Athenian interest in Amphipolis was rekindling. Such speculations aside, the cardinal point is that the all-important base arrived at its current location from elsewhere, so that its position adjacent to the late fifth-century peribolos represents a tertiary phase of use. Indeed, since the base was found *outside* the *temenos*, reused, with its inscription partly obscured, it is hardly unimpeachable evidence for the identity of the sanctuary itself—albeit the best we've got.

For present purposes, the key takeaway is that *there is no archaeological evidence to indicate that the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was located in the Classical agora before the last third of the fifth century BCE, and good evidence to suggest that significant elements—including the inscribed base that identifies the precinct—were relocated from elsewhere.*

Such mobility is unusual but not unheard-of. Homer Thompson has provided a list of "Transplanted Temples and Altars" in the Athenian agora, including the altar of Zeus Agoraios, the temple of Ares, the Southwest Temple, and the Southeast Temple (admittedly all later displacements).[65] Some of these monuments migrated great distances; two of the temples came from Thorikos and Sounion, the so-called altar of Zeus Agoraios originally served a different purpose on the Pnyx, and so on. To these examples one might add a story preserved in Diogenes Laertius in which the philosopher Zeno mentions an altar in the Painted Stoa that has been relocated from elsewhere.[66] What makes the displacement of the altar of the Twelve Gods so striking, however, is the fact that this monument anchored the metrical system of the city-state.[67] At stake was nothing less than the place of Athens in its *chōra* and its *kosmos*—the *oikoumenē* of democracy.

Where, then, did the altar of the Twelve Gods stand before the last third of the fifth century? Where was Pindar's *asteos omphalos*? To answer the question will require a different sort of evidence.

Pandaidalos agora

The urban fabric of Athens changed dramatically in the first half of the fifth century BCE. The changes represent perhaps the most audacious reworking of the political space in Athenian history, a truly revolutionary gesture. Two points are of special relevance: Themistokles shifted the city's port from Phaleron to Piraeus, and the agora was moved from its original location east of the Acropolis to a new site north of the citadel.[68] The two seem to have been connected.

The location of the Archaic agora has proved difficult to ascertain. Thucydides (2.15.3) famously states that the ancient city center of Athens consisted of "the Acropolis and the area below it turned for the most part toward the South" (ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον). It is to the east-southeast of the citadel that many of the city's most venerable shrines are located, not to mention the great temple of Zeus Olympios, undertaken by the Peisistratid tyrants. More specifically, Pausanias (1.18.2-3) locates the Prytaneion—the civic hearth and seat of the Athenian government—close to (πλησίος) and below a shrine of Aglauros, where the ephebes took their oath to defend Athens. For Herodotus (8.53.1), this shrine was a cave or grotto "in front of the Acropolis and behind/opposite the gates and the ascent" (ἔμπροσθε ὦν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου). Although the Aglaurion was long believed to be on the north slope of the citadel, an inscription unearthed *in situ* in 1980 showed conclusively that it occupied the large cave at the east end of the Acropolis (fig. 4.6).[69] Despite periodic attempts to dissociate the inscription from the cave, the association has stood the test of time—with profound implications for Athenian topography.[70]

The identification of the Aglaurion shows that the Prytaneion will have been below the *east* end of the Acropolis; and so, by implication, was the ancient agora. With the Prytaneion go many of the city's oldest shrines and offices. We are told, for instance, that near the Prytaneion stood the Dioskourion or Anakeion (Polyainos 1.21.2); near the Dioskourion was the Theseion (Paus. 1.17.2-3). Also near the Prytaneion was the Boukoleion, where the King Archon had his office prior to the construction of the Stoa Basileios ([Aristotle], *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5); and so on.[71]

That the Archaic agora was elsewhere than its Classical successor is becoming conventional wisdom (fig. 4.7).[72] As early as 1994, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., the former director of the Agora Excavations, cited the Aglaurion inscription to argue that the Archaic city center cannot have been in the same location as the Classical one; more recently, John Papadopoulos and Noel Robertson have given particularly thorough discussions. But the precise location of the Archaic agora remains a matter of educated guesswork,

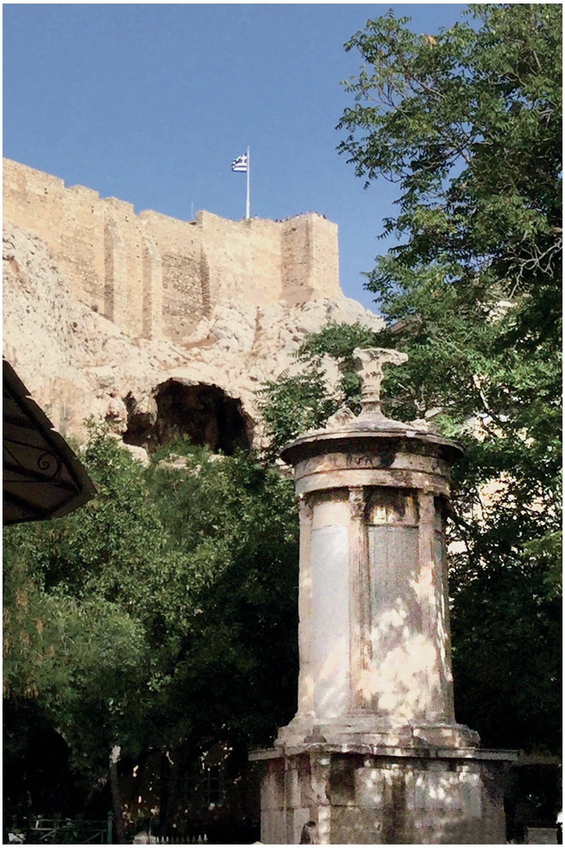

Fig. 4.6. Athens: view of the Aglaurion cave from approximate site of Archaic agora, with choregic monument of Lysikrates in foreground. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

since excavation in the area has been piecemeal at best. Shear, along with Christine Schnurr and Stephen Miller, argued that the Archaic agora was to the north of the Acropolis but a distance east of its Classical counterpart.[73] Papadopoulos, Robertson, and others, by contrast, have made a compelling case for following Herodotus and Pausanias to the letter and placing it due east, or even a bit southeast, of the citadel, "in front of the Acropolis and opposite the gates and the ascent."[74] Such a location tallies with Thucydides's account of the early city; it makes Pausanias's itinerary a more or less straight shot from west to east instead of a bizarre tangle as previously supposed; and it conforms to the fact that many of the oldest and most revered shrines of Athens stood in this southeast quadrant. The

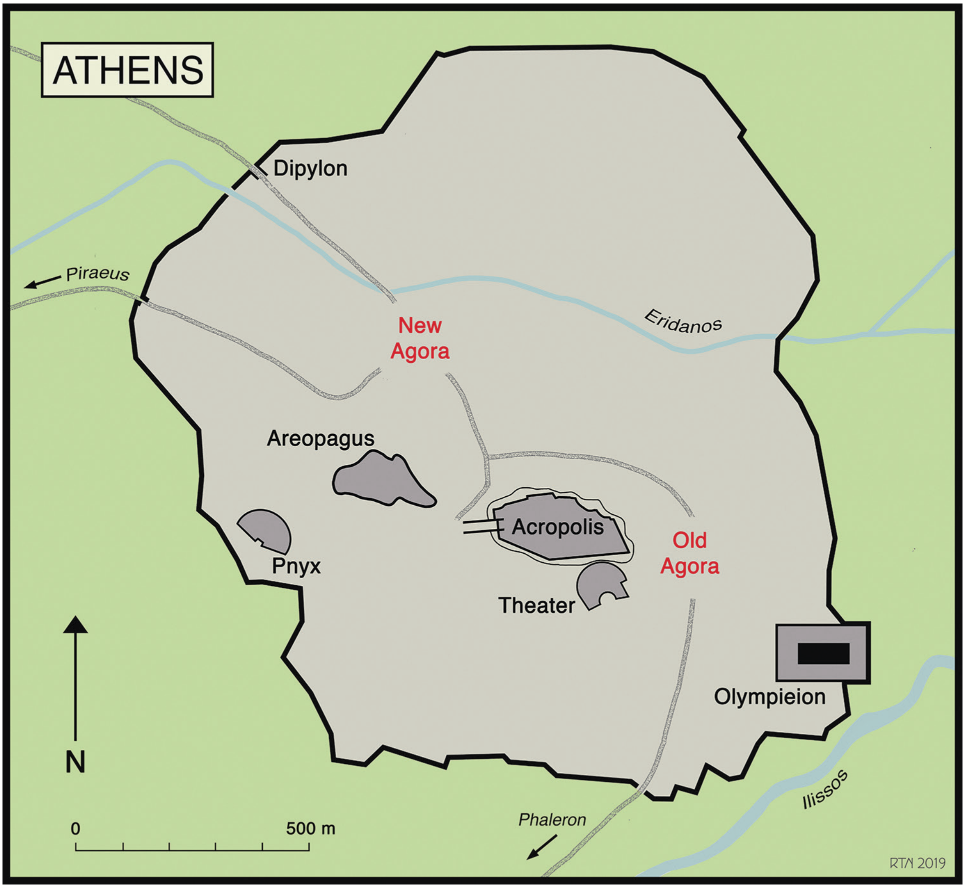
ATHENS
Dipylon
Piraeus
Eridanos
New Agora
Areopagus
Acropolis
Old Agora
Pnyx
Theater
Olympieion
N
0
500 m
Phaleron
Ilissos
RTN 2019

Fig. 4.7. Athens: schematic city plan. Drawing by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

Hadrianic arch identifying the ancient "City of Theseus" with this neighborhood provides late but welcome confirmation.

As to the date of the shift, Papadopoulos has argued ingeniously that the movement of the agora responds to the transfer of Athens's harbor from Phaleron to Piraeus.[75] Traditionally, this shift is said to have begun during the archonship of Themistokles, which would give a *terminus post quem* of 492 BCE.[76] The Phaleron road enters Athens from the southeast, exactly where the Archaic agora is likely to have been; the road from Piraeus, however, detours around the Hill of the Nymphs and must enter Athens from the northwest, by the Classical agora. Boundary stones in the Classical agora suggest that the new site was laid out in the early fifth century, coinciding with the development of Piraeus.[77] This date is broadly consistent with the archaeology of the buildings in the Classical agora; although not devoid of architecture in the late Archaic period, its monumentalization is clearly a phenomenon of the second half of the fifth century.

At this point it may be useful to review the evidence for the use of the later, Classical agora as a civic center in the first half of the fifth century (see fig. 4.2). The site's chronology ca. 500-460 BCE is regrettably opaque. The most important construction projects for this period, and the best evidence for a specifically civic function for the area, are:

- The Stoa Basileios.
- The "Old Bouleuterion."
- The Tholos or Prytanikon.

The Stoa Basileios is usually dated to ca. 500 BCE; the "Old Bouleuterion," variously to ca. 500 BCE and ca. 475-450 BCE; the Tholos, to ca. 460 BCE. Each presents its own problems. In addition, a fountain at the southeast corner of the Classical agora bespeaks investment in the area, albeit of a more general nature. We shall discuss each structure in turn.

The Stoa Basileios is a small limestone portico (17.7 m × 7.2 m) with a dirt floor, dated to ca. 500 BCE on the basis of excavation pottery that has never been fully published; this date has recently been challenged in favor of one in the 470s.[78]

The stoa seems to have received a new internal colonnade and a new roof after the middle of the fifth century, and was enlarged with two new wings at century's end. One of these wings supported massive stelai, probably displaying the ancient law code of the city. Abutting the stoa was the great stone, or Lithos, on which the archons took their oath of office. There are clear signs that this stone was shifted to this location from elsewhere; ceramic evidence provides a *terminus ante quem* for the move of only the fourth quarter of the fifth century BCE (which happens to be about the same time that Sill 1 of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was moved).[79] It is striking that the stelai and the Lithos—the two most obvious testaments to the civic function of an otherwise unprepossessing little stoa—should have no archaeologically verifiable presence on this site before the end of the fifth century. We know remarkably little about the building's early history.

The so-called Old Bouleuterion presents similar problems.[80] The highly exiguous remains of this structure lay directly underneath the later temple of the Mother at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios. The excavator, Homer A. Thompson, considered the building post-Persian, citing among other things the fact that its foundations incorporated reused materials with signs of burning.[81] Stratigraphically the most important point is that the building must postdate the "Great Drain," a water channel of the early fifth century.[82] The building's function is also unclear; although it is sometimes cited as one of the very earliest council halls in the Greek world, Stephen G. Miller has argued that it was in fact just an early phase of the temple of the Mother, or Metroon, which doubled as the Athenian state archive.[83] Despite its somewhat tendentious nickname, there is no hard evidence that the building ever housed the Athenian state council.[84] Toward the end of the fifth century, the slightly smaller "New Bouleuterion" was built directly adjacent; here, by universal consensus, the Athenian state council most certainly did meet. On one reading of the evidence, then, the "Old Bouleuterion" was built in the early part of the fifth century as a capacious council hall for the new democracy; then, near the end of the century, the council moved into redundant and considerably smaller quarters next door (the "New Bouleuterion"), yielding its former meeting hall to the Mother and the archive. On Miller's reading, by contrast, the older building was always dedicated to the Mother, while the "New Bouleuterion" of the later fifth century was the first purpose-built council hall in the Classical agora; where the *Boulē* met before that date is unclear.[85] For our purposes, the key point is that the building is almost certainly post-Persian or, conceivably, early fifth-century. This date is perfectly consistent with a shift to the new agora starting around the time of Themistokles's archonship in 492 BCE.

The Tholos was a democratic counterweight to the Archaic Prytaneion; hence its name, Prytanikon, which differentiated it from the older chamber. The circular Prytanikon was a dining hall for magistrates (*prytaneis*) chosen by lot, while the old Prytaneion hosted the priests of Eleusis, the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Olympic victors, and "those chosen by Apollo" (Aelius Aristides, notably, called its hearth "immovable," ἀκίνητος).[86] The construction of the Tholos ca. 460 BCE is the earliest unambiguous evidence that the area north of the Acropolis had become the new civic center of democratic Athens. It may be no coincidence that its construction is roughly contemporary with the reforms of Ephialtes, 462/61 BCE, often cited as the commencement of true *dēmokratia* at Athens.

Last of all comes the Southeast Fountain House. The implications of this building for urban development are obviously less straightforward than for those structures considered thus far, given the vast range of possible motivations for improvement of a water supply. Not every place with a fountain is ipso facto an agora. Here as well, however, the date is perfectly consistent with our argument. Although the fountain is traditionally dated to the 520s BCE, Jessica Paga has recently shown that it is almost certainly a construction of the second quarter of the fifth century, squarely within the range for the late Archaic/early Classical transformation of civic space that we describe.[87]

The picture that emerges is of a gradual migration of civic functions from one side of town to the other over the course of the fifth century BCE.[88] The Classical agora seems to have been opened in the 490s at the earliest, but the transition was not immediate. The *prytaneis* cannot have moved from the old agora until the construction of the Tholos ca. 460; the Stoa Basileios is, in essence, a cipher before the late fifth century; the "Old Bouleuterion" is obscure both in date and function, and we do not really know where the *Boulē* met before the later fifth century; the Southeast Fountain House is now early Classical, but we do not know with certainty why it was built. The situation clarifies only in the final third of the century. Pindar's career falls almost entirely within this period of transition: as we have noted, his earliest extant poem, Pythian 10, dates to 498, and he seems to have died ca. 440.

Athens was literally bipolar in these years. In 477/76 the Tyrannicides monument went up in the new, Classical agora, where part of its base has been found (*IG* I³ 592). It replaced an older version that Xerxes had carried away; where the first group stood is unclear. Just one year later, however, we find the conservative Kimon investing heavily in the old agora, transporting the bones of Theseus from Skyros and commissioning Polygnotos of Thasos to decorate the walls of the Theseion.[89] Later in the century, the poet Melanthios wrote an elegiac couplet describing how Polygnotos donated his services to the city for this and other projects:

αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε
    Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.

> At his own expense he decorated the temples of the gods and the Kekropian agora with the exploits of demigods.[90]

The phrase "Kekropian agora" is perhaps meant to distinguish the old civic center below the Aglaurion, where the Theseion stood, from the new, Classical one north of the citadel; Aglauros was, of course, the daughter of Kekrops, ancient king of Athens. It was here that Kimon essentially refounded the city by burying the bones of its mythic synoikist in the agora—exactly where many colonial foundations (e.g., Cyrene, Poseidonia, Thasos, Selinous) entombed their historical oikists, where Amphipolis would later entomb Brasidas, and where Sikyon would entomb Euphron, in ceremonies of refoundation.[91] Over in the new agora, by contrast, the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton stood as ostensible founders of democracy, much to the annoyance of Kimon's grand-nephew, Thucydides, who complained that they were undeserving of the honor (6.56-59). Later the Thirty Tyrants would try to turn back the clock by using the Archaic Prytaneion instead of the "democratic" Tholos.[92] For them, the old agora was a pre- or antidemocratic space.

And the altar of the Twelve Gods? The logic is simple. If the Archaic agora was east of the Acropolis (as the Aglaurion inscription plainly demonstrates), and if the altar was in the agora (as seems certain given its function as zero milestone) and was built in 522/21 (as Thucydides and Herodotus attest), then it seems that the altar must have stood east of the Acropolis. It will have been moved to its present location as part of the general relocation of the civic center some time during the fifth century. The archaeological evidence, as we have seen, is entirely consistent with this scenario: everything points to a renovation and relocation of the altar between ca. 430 and ca. 400 BCE.[93] The *prytaneis* moved, the archons moved, and so did the Twelve Gods.

Polubatos asteos omphalos

In light of such considerations, we propose to revisit Christine Schnurr's suggestion that Pindar's *pandaidalos agora* is in fact the old agora below the cave of Aglauros, and not the new, Classical one to the north of the Acropolis.[94] Schnurr points out that the Classical agora can hardly have been *pandaidalos*, "all-decorated," when Pindar wrote; it was, on the contrary, nearly empty. One might add that Melanthios specifies the Kekropian agora to have been "decorated" (verb κοσμέω) by the same period; it was a place known for its embellishment.[95] Schnurr herself, however, identifies the *asteos omphalos* with the altar of Zeus Agoraios, in part because she assumes that the sanctuary of the Twelve cannot have moved. As we have seen, this assumption is not consistent with the stratigraphy of the *temenos*. Schnurr's suggestion, moreover, seems to miss the point of Pindar's metaphor: *asteos omphalos* is a uniquely apt figure for the altar of the Twelve Gods because the altar is the center of the polis, because it is a place of sanctuary (as the Delphic *omphalos* is in *Eumenides*), and because it was dedicated by the same man who dedicated the altar of Apollo Pythios.[96]

This last fact is one that, as Thucydides notes, the democracy preferred to forget. To be sure, an evocation of Apollo Pythios was never amiss in an Athenian dithyramb, for the god presided over the dithyrambic contests at the Thargelia festival in midsummer.[97] But fr. 75 SM is clearly a springtime performance for Dionysos; Apollo is, in this sense, superfluous. An oblique nod to Peisistratos helps to motivate this otherwise curious phrase.[98] Pindar's metaphor is, in this sense, merely a reminder of what everyone already knew; to use the language of the Hipparchan herms, it is a *mnēma Peisistratou*, a "reminder of Peisistratos." That Pindar should make this gesture jibes well with the fact that he wrote the seventh Pythian for Megakles of Athens (486 BCE), who had been exiled the previous year as a *philos tōn tyrannōn*, a "friend of the tyrants."[99] Fr. 75 SM may well date to about the same period, although the point is not necessary for our argument.

Regardless of the poem's precise date, Athenian urban space was contested throughout Pindar's career. The democracy literally uprooted the old order—not all at once, but over decades; as late as 404 BCE, the Thirty were still trying to resist, albeit futilely, by reverting to the Prytaneion. Throughout the poet's working life, the long process of transferring the civic center from the "Kekropian" agora to the new site by the Kerameikos was under way but incomplete.

In this atmosphere, Pindar specifically evokes urban topography and the metrical system by which the Athenians organized their *oikoumenē*, with subtle but unmistakable reference to the Peisistratid era. Unfortunately, current knowledge of Athenian politics in these years—to say nothing of the exact date or circumstances of Pindar's commission—makes it impossible to go much further in discerning a specific, partisan program for fr. 75 SM. The poet might very well be harking back to the ancien régime, in keeping with his known association with at least one "friend of the tyrants." But we simply lack the historical documentation to offer meaningful conclusions about so delicate a subject. What does seem clear, however, is that Pindar's dithyramb is concerned with Athenian public space, that the area to which it refers was a site of contestation throughout most of the poet's working life, and that, for whatever reason, the poet emphasizes the older, predemocratic order.

Spatial Deixis and the Thematic of Place

Locating the performance of fr. 75 SM in the old agora of Athens (performed, as we have suggested, by a *kuklios choros* circling around the altar of the Twelve Gods) allows us to resolve a pair of longstanding textual problems associated with this fragment. In brief, how are we to construe Διόθεν (7) and δεύτερον (8)?[100] Many scholars separate these two words, giving to each a somewhat problematic interpretation. Thus scholars have acknowledged that Διόθεν is unexpected and more than a little opaque. One popular solution is to assimilate Διόθεν to the common hymnal practice of "starting from Zeus"; another, to claim that the poet is "sent by Zeus" or "inspired by Zeus" in what one scholar terms "a rather surprising extension" of the conventional idea that the poet is assisted by the gods or the Muses in the composition of his song.[101] In his commentary on Pindar's dithyrambs, Salvatore Lavecchia has already offered a fatal objection to the first interpretation: it is possible to say that the *song* "goes from Zeus" to mean that the hymn starts with Zeus, but we cannot extract this meaning from the statement that the speaker (poet or singers) "goes from Zeus."[102] Yet Lavecchia's alternative solution—that the poet/speaker goes "inspired by Zeus"—seems no more persuasive. Lavecchia insists that this conceit would be a natural extension of the idea of poetic inspiration deriving from the Muses, Apollo, or the gods in general, since hierarchically all the other gods of poetic inspiration draw their power from Zeus; yet he can cite no convincing parallels for Zeus in this role. In particular, it is not at all clear why Zeus should be singled out as the source of inspiration in what is clearly a dithyramb dedicated to Dionysos.

At the same time, δεύτερον (8) is something of a mystery. Several scholars construe δεύτερον with με in line 7 to mean "coming for the second time." This phrase is then connected to a report in a *Life of Pindar* preserved on papyrus that "in the archonship of Archias [497/96], Pindar competed and won with a dithyramb in Athens."[103] On this interpretation, the poet here flags the fact that this dithyramb is his second for the Athenians, composed at some unknown point after his first win in 497/96.[104] This is supposed to explain δεύτερον, while establishing a firm *terminus post quem* for the date of our fragment. But no explanation is offered for *why* the poet should have his Athenian chorus mention in song that this is his second competitive dithyramb in Athens, and we would be hard pressed to imagine the cultic or generic relevance of such a statement.[105]

A second approach is to construe the accusative δεύτερον not with με but with the phrase that immediately follows, ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν, and translate, "[You gods] look upon me going from Zeus with the radiance of songs secondly to the ivy-knowing god."[106] In contrast to interpretations that separate Διόθεν and δεύτερον from each other and give to each an implausible or artificial meaning, this construal of δεύτερον has the virtue of economy; on this reading, the two deictic terms Διόθεν and δεύτερον go together. For Peter Wilson, who connects the two terms, this represents an issue not of textual interpretation or of poetic self-reference, but of cult practice:

> What seems to distinguish this from other instances is the way it "begins from Zeus" (Διόθεν 8) and moves on "with splendour of songs secondly to that ivy-knowing god," and so places the worship of Dionysos and his mother firmly in the wider context of the civic pantheon. The emphasis on the *agora* as a flourishing and famous religious and commercial centre is more than a choreographic deictic. It reflects the degree to which, in Athens, Dionysiac dance and song is an event that brings all together at the centre of the populous and prosperous city—those very qualities being guaranteed by the performance of the dithyramb.[107]

We concur with Wilson's interpretation, but contend that it can be more specifically anchored in civic space. Thus we suggest understanding both Διόθεν and δεύτερον as spatial deictics that operate within a dense network of topographic references to shrines and cults in the old agora of Athens.[108] Both words, in short, are of a piece with what might be called the poem's thematic of place: Διόθεν and δεύτερον go with *pandaidalos agora* and *asteos omphalos* to situate the poem squarely within the real Athenian cityscape. This poem is about real monuments, real places.

The poem's catalogue of deities acquires significance in this light. Pindar begins by naming the Olympians as a collective (1), and with them the *omphalos*/altar at the heart of the agora. He then proceeds "from Zeus" (Διόθεν, 7) to Dionysos (9–10) and Semele (12), then to the Horai, or Seasons (14), before circling back to Semele with an evocation of her "helical" crown (19). With this last phrase we come full circle: Semele's wreath closes a small ring composition, a riff on the theme of violets and crowns. The chorus offers wreaths of violets to the gods in line 6, then casts violets onto the ground in lines 16–17, then returns to the image of a crown in the final line with ἑλικάμπυκα. The initial conceit assimilated violets to songs: "Receive a share of crowns bound with violets and songs culled in the spring"; now, appropriately, the song's very structure takes a cyclical or "helical" form.[109] This circular composition, moreover, evokes the circular movement of the *kuklios choros* around the altar of the Twelve Gods. Structure,

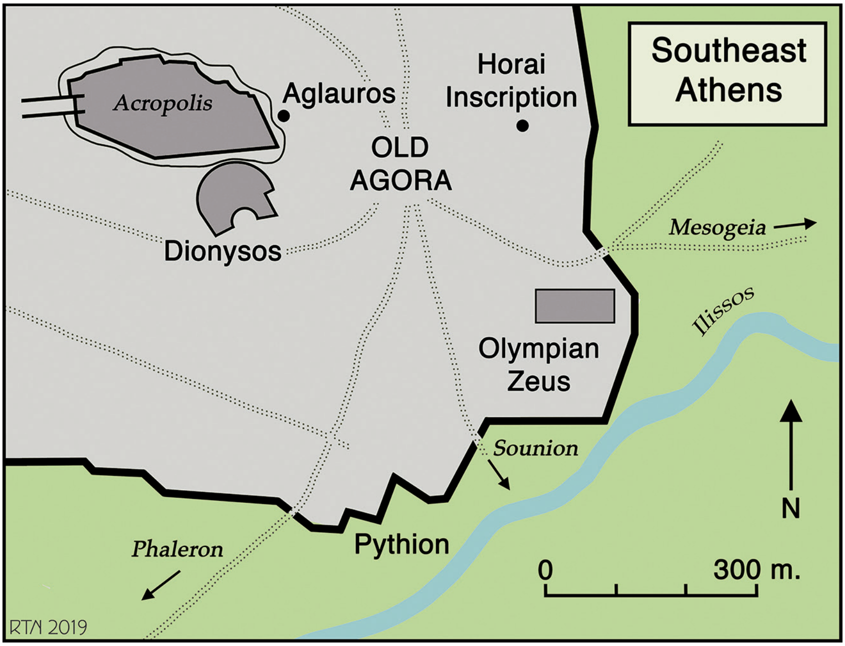

Fig. 4.8. Athens: area of Archaic agora with sites relevant to Pindar fr. 75 SM. Drawing by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

imagery, and performance all coincide—which is to say that insofar as the dance is itself a movement in real civic space, it enacts or performs the poem's structure and its constitutive tropes. Fr. 75 SM at once *spatializes its form* and *formalizes its space*. On the one hand, its ring composition corresponds to the real, circular movement of dancers in space; on the other, its spatial setting acquires the formal regularity of song and dance.

The catalogue of deities is of a piece with this overall thematic. It is, in fact, possible to match each item in the series with a corresponding sacred area in the immediate vicinity of the Archaic agora (fig. 4.8). The locations of the first two gods named are straightforward, for the sanctuaries in question were among the largest and most important in Athens. Zeus Olympios, for instance, had a *temenos* only a short distance to the east of the old agora. Here, in the latter part of the sixth century, the Peisistratids undertook an enormous temple, both polypteral and octastyle, that remained unfinished until the Roman era.[110] To the southwest, meanwhile, were the sanctuary of Dionysos and the theatrical area (in Pindar's day the theater itself will have been a temporary wooden structure); the first temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus is often attributed to the Peisistratids as well.[111] Between the agora and the Dionysion ran the Street of the Tripods, so named because monuments for dithyrambic victories would eventually line its course.[112]

The Horai present a more complex case. Pindar speaks of a "chamber" (θάλαμος, 14), opened as part of a springtime ritual. While the phrase might be a mere conceit for the change of season, the context invites a literal reading: could Pindar be referring to a real shrine? The Horai did have a sanctuary in Athens, although its precise location is unknown. According to Philochoros, the *hieron* of the Horai contained an altar of Dionysos Orthos ("the Erect") and was adjacent to an altar of the Nymphs; here sacrificial meat was boiled, not roasted.[113] Dionysos Orthos, in turn, seems to have an association with myths of the origins of wine drinking in Athens, which suggests a connection with the shrine of Dionysos *en Limnais* ("in the Marshes") and, by extension, a location somewhere by the Ilissos.[114] Yet this reasoning seems tenuous. The Horai did have an association with the wine god and often appear in his train, as on the François Vase.[115] But that does not really help with locating their shrine.

More concrete evidence comes from an undated inscription that records a dedication to the Horai and the Nymphs together; it must come from the sanctuary that Philochoros describes.[116] The inscription was found in the precinct of Ag. Ioannis Chrysostomos, on Daidalou and Periandrou Streets, about 300 m due east of the Aglaurion.[117] Of course the block was not found *in situ*, but the findspot may suggest that the shrine is likely to have been somewhere in this general vicinity. The Horai, moreover, may have played a role at the Thargelia, a midsummer festival featuring dithyrambs in honor of Apollo.[118] This festival centered on the Pythion, where the victors' tripods stood.[119] The shrine was in southeast Athens, again within a few hundred yards of the old agora and the Aglaurion.[120] One might surmise that the sanctuary of the Horai was in the same general vicinity.

Two further pieces of evidence connect the Horai with the Aglaurion itself. The "True Aglaurion" inscription mentions the goddesses in a catalogue of deities "to whom it is customary to offer sacrifice" at the *eisiteteria*:

> ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθυεν τοῖς εἰσιτητηρίοις τῆι Ἀγλαύρωι καὶ τῶι Ἄρει καὶ τῶι Ἡλίωι καὶ ταῖς Ὥραις καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι. . . .

> With regard to the sacrifices offered at the *eisiteteria* to Aglauros and to Ares and to Helios and to the Horai and to Apollo and to the other gods to whom it is a hereditary custom [to offer sacrifice], with good fortune be it resolved by the Council. . . . [121]

Also in the Aglaurion, the Athenian ephebes would eventually swear their oath of service to the state.[122] The oath is known in several versions, both epigraphic and textual. In each case it ends by invoking a number of gods to witness.

> ἵστορες {ο} θεοὶ Ἄγλαυρος, Ἑστία, Ἐνυώ, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρεία, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη, Ἡρακλῆς, ὅροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροί, κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἐλᾶαι, συκαῖ.
>
> Witnesses are the gods Aglauros, Hestia, Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone, Herakles, and the boundaries of the fatherland, wheat, barley, vines, olive-trees, fig-trees.[123]

Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone are, according to Pollux, Horai (8.106). At least some of the other deities in the list were worshipped in the vicinity: Aglauros, of course, but also Hestia (in the Prytaneion), Zeus (in the Olympieion), and Herakles (in Kynosarges, to the southeast); Enyalios received sacrifice from the Polemarch along with Artemis Agrotera, whose sanctuary was in the same vicinity.[124] The implication is that the Horai were local as well.

In sum, a preponderance of the evidence suggests that the shrine of the Horai was at the east end of the Acropolis, probably in the vicinity of the Aglaurion (which happens to be midway between the church of Ag. Ioannis and the Pythion). It will have been one of several small shrines to fertility deities on the slopes of the rock, along with those of Gē Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe, further to the west.[125] Here Dionysos Orthos will have resided, conveniently close to the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus, to the Boukoleion in the agora (where Dionysos would marry the Basilinna every year at the Anthesteria festival) and, in all likelihood, to the sanctuary *en Limnais*, which must have been near the Ilissos, although its exact location is unknown.

What effect do these topographical considerations have for a reading of fr. 75 SM? We are, it seems, to imagine a *kuklios choros* circling the "much-trodden" altar of the Twelve Gods in the old, *pandaidalos agora* of Athens. As it dances it invokes a roster of deities, to each one of whom there corresponds a different point in the cycle. Starting to the east of the altar, in the direction of the Olympieion, the chorus mentions Zeus; it then proceeds "from Zeus" (whether clockwise or counterclockwise we cannot know) to the southwest, in the direction of the Dionysion, home of Bromios and the Kadmeian Semele; then around to the northwest, in the direction of the Aglaurion and the chamber of the Horai; and around yet again to Dionysos, or more precisely his mother, who may have shared his cult.[126] As it moves, the chorus positions each shrine relative both to the hub—the altar—and to each of the other points on its circular itinerary. It thereby spins a web of relations linking up disparate points in the urban fabric, with the *omphalos*, "kilometer zero," at its center.

In this way, Pindar renders the contested landscape of fifth-century Athens *kata kosmon*.[127] Although any similarity to the sweep of a compass around its *tornos* is no doubt fortuitous, the chorus is, in its own way, a technology for ordering space.[128] Unlike Piraeus, Athens had no regular, Hippodamian plan. It was a hodgepodge of sanctuaries great and small that had evolved over centuries, each harboring its own particular rituals and traditions and connected by irregular streets. The advent of democracy and the movement of the agora to its later, Classical site can only have made an already complex situation more intricate and confusing. More to the point, it politicized space to a new degree merely by virtue of uprooting tradition, the effect being most readily apparent, as we have seen, in the countervailing gestures of Kimon and the Thirty. Pindar's dithyramb, by contrast, suggests an orderliness to the urban fabric: each sanctuary relates cogently to all the others; each connects to each and to the central reference point with all the regularity of measured song and choral dance.

This ordering is not just spatial: it has a temporal dimension as well. For as we have seen, the image of the *omphalos* implicitly invokes Peisistratos the Younger, whose twin dedications of the altar of the Twelve Gods and the altar of Apollo Pythios help to motivate the image. To catch the reference requires a certain local knowledge, which Pindar registers when he calls the agora "famous" or "well remarked" (*eukleēs*). In this way, local history, along with spatial proximity, relates one sanctuary to another. This is *old* Athens—and, more specifically, Peisistratid Athens. The Olympieion was the largest of all Pesistratid building projects; indeed, it too is sometimes associated with Peisistratos the Younger.[129] The temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus has also been associated with the family, but in this case documentation is slim. While it may be tempting to see in such allusions a further example of Pindar's association with the "friends of the tyrants," given how little we know about the internal politics of Athens in the first half of the fifth century, we do not want to venture or endorse any specific partisan politics behind the thematic of place we've identified in the dithyramb fragment. We simply don't know enough.[130] For present purposes it suffices to note that the poet is recruiting his audience's knowledge of local history—and, in so doing, providing a temporal context for his own spatial *kosmēsis*. Put differently, the individual associations of each monument perhaps matter less than their orderly arrangement in song and space alike.

In framing the issue this way, we want to suggest that what the dithyramb achieved in performance was akin to Catherine Bell's model of ritualization, which for her results in "redemptive hegemony." We need to give due weight to both terms in this phrase when we think about the effects of ritual and ritualization. "Hegemony" because there is inevitably a partisan politics and someone benefits from the powerful effects conjured by ritual. But "redemptive" is also important: the affirmation of *somebody's* hegemony works through the motor of causing all participants to feel that the order instantiated in ritual—and only this order—is divinely mandated, right and proper. And for Bell this is a matter of the forming of "ritualized bodies" through their participation in particular rituals in particular places.[131] With regard to Pindar, we may not be able to specify whose hegemony, but we can track the redemptive power of the ritual by attending to the words of the poem itself and to the *kosmēsis* of bodies in space that they evoke.

So let us turn to a reading of the poem for what it tells us of the lived experience of this ritual for participants and audience alike. What we have of this dithyramb mobilizes all the resources of ecstatic Dionysiac song to affirm the centrality of *this* place and the unity of human participants, gods, and nature forged in this ritual occasion. By so doing, it powerfully legitimizes the old agora, with its shrines arrayed around the "hub" of the altar of the Twelve Gods, as the civic center in the most literal sense. For the nineteen preserved lines of the poem (perhaps a complete strophe?) constitute not just a ring but, as it were, an intensifying emotional spiral that climaxes in the last four lines. Within the ring of χορόν (1)—χοροί (19) and οἰχνεῖτε (5)—οἰχνεῖ (19), these lines evoke first separation and multiplicity, simply in order to overwhelm and fuse them more effectively in a synaesthetic vision of Dionysiac union.[132] At the exact center of the preserved lines, θεόν (9) and βροτοί (10) articulate an opposition—god versus mortals—that everything else in these lines works to undo.[133] For everything here is about fusion and integration of all the different elements—gods, mortals, and nature—united in ecstatic Dionysiac worship. It is a truism that Dionysiac dance conjures the gods to be present; here the Olympians are summoned to the agora, where both gods and human participants are crowned (6, 16–17). More striking is the way in which these lines persistently fuse nature and divinity or divinize nature. As M. J. H. van der Weiden notes, the language of line 13, ἐναργέα τ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ὥτε μάντιν οὐ λανθάνει, strongly implies that the signs read by the poem's ego are of divine origin, and so here the tokens of the coming of spring are divinized first as the "opening of the chamber of the red-robed Horai" and then also by the association of "plants" and "earth" in successive lines with nectar and ambrosia (φυτὰ νεκτάρεα, 15; ἀμβρόταν χθόν᾽, 16).[134] Lines 16–17 then provide a remarkable fusion of all three spheres in the close collocation of the "locks" of violets—foliage, but literally "hair" (ἴων φόβαι)—and "roses mixed with [unspecified] locks" (ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται), presumably those of the human and divine participants.

Finally, all these effects reach a crescendo in the last five preserved lines, which contain four separate grammatical aberrations. Line 15 pairs a neuter plural subject, φυτὰ νεκτάρεα, with a plural verb, ἐπάγοισιν. This grammatical anomaly serves not merely to disambiguate subject and object, as commentators would have it; it produces an effect of multiplicity—the profusion of different spring plants suddenly bursting into bloom.[135] But that bewildering multiplicity is immediately gathered in and unified through what is in effect the opposite grammatical anomaly repeated three times in the last four lines. Here, in rapid succession, we find three examples of the so-called *schema Pindaricum*, a masculine or feminine plural subject following a singular verb (βάλλεται . . . φόβαι; ἀχεῖ τ᾽ ὀμφαί; οἰχνεῖ . . . χοροί).[136] Combined with the ecstatic repetition τότε . . . τότ(ε) (16), the grammar itself registers the fusion of all three spheres into a unity—significantly through the action of "voices" (ὀμφαί) and "choruses" (χοροί).

It is tempting to read this bold and vivid shift from multiplicity to unity as also applying to the poem's rendering of civic space, unified and infused with divinity by the multiple voices and multiple bodies singing and dancing Pindar's song. And if we are to follow Peter Wilson and others who see the dithyramb's social work as promoting unity and defusing *stasis*, here these powerful ideological effects serve to set the old Peisistratid/aristocratic agora *es meson*.[137]

Written at a time when the urban fabric of Athens was contested, fr. 75 SM provides a model of reconciliation. Specifically, it exemplifies and enacts *rules* whereby disparate and even contradictory elements might combine harmoniously. The *schema Pindaricum* does just this at the level of syntax: Pindar's Greek can accommodate seeming violations of protocol without losing sense. The poem's thematic of space works to similar effect, insofar as the orderly, orbital movement of the *kuklios choros* around the agora establishes cogent relations of space and time between disparate elements of the urban fabric. Zeus, Dionysos, the Horai, Apollo Pythios, and the Twelve Gods all relate meaningfully, like so many points in a constellation. Athens was, as we have seen, a haphazard array of shrines, public spaces, and private dwellings. Politics, here, was visible in and as competing systems of order—in and as the tyranny's locatory regime of rural herms and civic altar and the democracy's corresponding displacement of the agora, the "zero kilometer," and so much more. With Pindar, this space acquires the orderly precision of a violet-plaited wreath or a choral dance. Athens is exactly as cogent as a plural subject after a singular verb: it should not make sense, but it does, so long as the *choros* makes its circuit round and round the all-decorated agora. In all this, the poet's *sophia* enables him not just to control time "as if [he were] a *mantis*" but also to plait and weave together space, powerfully conjuring the illusion (as Anne Carson has it in the epigraph to this book) that things "hang together" to make a town.[138]

Part II

Pindar’s Cyrene: Pythians 4, 5, and 9

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CHAPTER FIVE

Cyrene, a Pindaric Schema

In the dithyramb for the Athenians, we saw Pindar at once *formalizing space* and *spatializing form*. He did so by means of a series of tropes. Specifically, the poet assimilated both the structure and the images of his song to the circular dance of a chorus around the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Archaic agora of Athens—even as he systematically connected the circular dance to the very fabric of the city. The poet's syntax—notably, the *schema Pindaricum*—extracted sense from disjunct elements, just as the poem forged meaningful connections amongst the hodgepodge of ancient shrines in southeast Athens.

The resulting space was, we argued, constitutively political. On the one hand, Pindar picked out landmarks at least in part for their civic, institutional significance: the agora, the altar of the Twelve, and the precincts of Zeus, the Horai, and Dionysos. On the other hand, the relations *between* these points were institutional as well insofar as the altar of the Twelve was the zero milestone of the state, a device for relating the entire city-state to the *omphalos* of the town. Thus the specific, circumscribed site—the performance venue in the agora—became cogent only within a larger array of sites and institutions that radiated out, as it were, from the altar. The political was not a second-order "interpretation" or "reading" of the cityscape but, on the contrary, its very condition of possibility as a cogent territory: in a word, its horizon.

We need, therefore, to expand our own horizons if we are to get a better grasp of the spatial regimes of Pindar's poetry. Fine-grained description of a particular locale, such as the Athenian agora or the precinct of the Twelve, remains too much "inside" the poet's discourse, the burden of which is precisely to constitute a site as such in the first place. When the task of a poem is to make an agora and its vicinity seem a cogent environment, it will not do to accept that cogency as a given. We need, in short, a critical distance.

To that end, the next two chapters will broaden our focus from the single fragment and the single neighborhood to encompass an entire region:

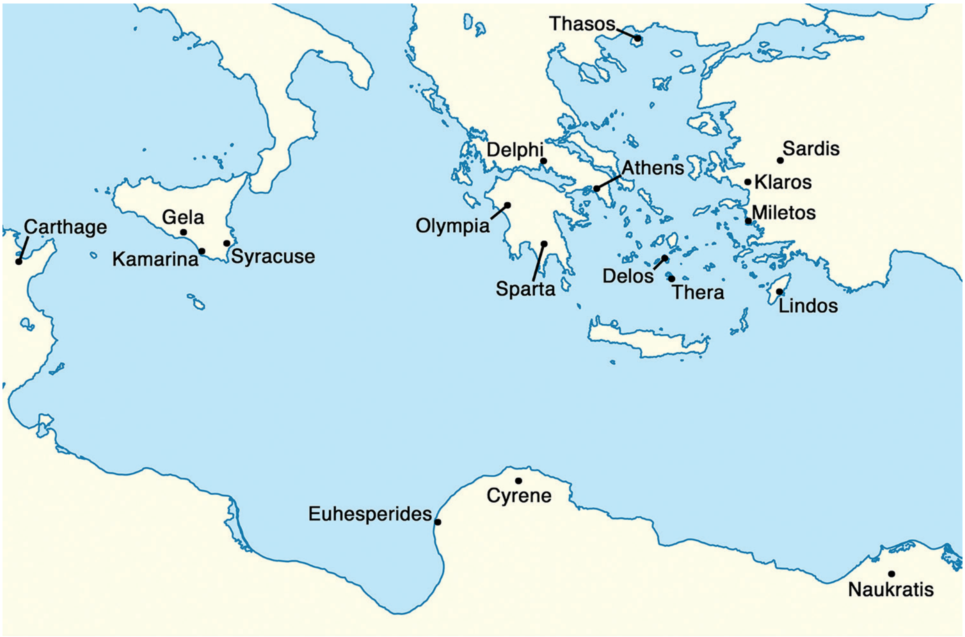


Fig. 5.1. Cyrene, Libya, and the Greek world. Map by NordNordWest (CC-BY-SA-3.0) with labels by R. Neer.

the town of Cyrene in Libya, along with the shrines and cemeteries immediately outside its walls, the vast *chōra* it dominated, and even its dedications at Delphi and Olympia (fig 5.1).[1] This is also to register the difference between choral cult poetry, rooted in a particular place, and epinikion as a synthetic form with a much more ambitious geographic scope. Pindar wrote three epinikia for Cyrenaean victors over a twelve-year span, from 474 BCE to 462 BCE: Pythians 4, 5, and 9. Even here, we shall argue, no single poem suffices to give a clear view of this region. On the contrary, it is necessary to read the three odes against each other and synthesize the result in a fully "three-dimensional" view of the city and its Libyan setting. Doing so entails a shift from the individual locality to the connections between localities—from the individual poem to the connections between poems—and to the people, the populations, that effected these connections, that is, the Cyrenaeans themselves. Crudely, if fr. 75 SM was ultimately about *landmarks*, Pythians 4, 5, and 9 are about *zones* and the orderly relations between them. There is no *asteos omphalos* in Pindar's Cyrene, no axial point round which to spin a cogent civic space. Instead, there is a matrix of places both sacred and profane that maps onto the phys-

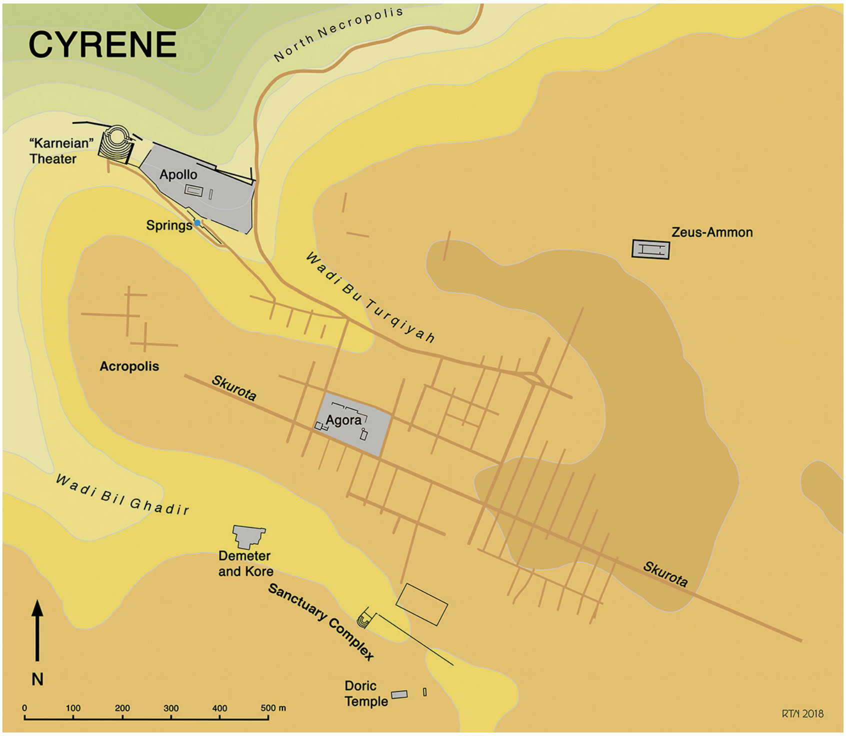

CYRENE
North Necropolis
"Karneian" Theater
Apollo
Springs
Wadi Bu Turqiyah
Zeus-Ammon
Acropolis
Skurota
Agora
Wadi Bil Ghadir
Demeter and Kore
Sanctuary Complex
Skurota
N
0 100 200 300 400 500 m
Doric Temple
RTN 2018

Fig. 5.2. Cyrene: schematic city plan. Composite drawing by R. Neer based on Kendrick 2013.

ical landscape of the Libyan littoral—and in so doing provides a sort of conceptual guidance system for the region.

Cyrene is well suited for this sort of investigation (fig. 5.2). Over the last century, British, American, and above all Italian teams have conducted extensive excavations and published their results promptly and thoroughly. Literary accounts include a precious early narrative by Herodotus, who in his fourth book provides a lengthy excursus on the founding of the city, its history under the Battiad kings, and its relation to the surrounding native Libyan tribes (Hdt. 4.145-205). Given this wealth of material, we will proceed through a double dialogue between monuments and poems. The present chapter, after a brief initial survey of Cyrene and its history, will use two of Pindar's epinikia to orient us in the town. A preliminary, fairly coarse-grained reading of Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 will bring out significant patterns in the built landscape, for here Pindar's odes for different patrons give us a clearer or more explicit view of competing ideologies as they are mapped on the ground. It is essential, for this purpose, not to integrate the narratives and thematic emphases of Pindar's Cyrenaean odes into a single synthetic account. This is what is almost always done in scholarly treatments, whether in the service of reconstructing positivist history or offering a structuralist reading.[2] It is equally necessary to be cautious in supplementing the poems' narratives from later sources, including Herodotus, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, as well as the fragments of mythographers and historians preserved in the ancient scholia to these poems and the fourth-century "Oath of the Founders." These ancient sources were themselves often engaged in the process of rationalizing and integrating what were still politically charged, divergent accounts in the era of the Battiad monarchy.[3] For poems rooted in Classical Cyrene we should stick to Classical sources as much as possible.

This reading of the site through the lens of Pindar's differential orderings of the space of the city and its *chōra* will interleave three different categories of space and monuments: (1) the city plan as a whole, organized around a central avenue, the *Skurōta hodos*; (2) the agora; (3) the major sanctuaries in and around the urban center (notably those of Apollo, Zeus Ammon, and Demeter and Kore). Within this topographic matrix we will address large patterns in urbanism, the layout of sanctuaries, dedicatory practice, and mortuary architecture to yield a "Pindaric" schematization of the city.

Chapter 6, in turn, uses this contextual information as the basis for a finer-grained reading of all three of Pindar's odes for Cyrenaean victors, folding in a (partial) reading of Pythian 4 as it relates to the other two odes. Here we will track the politics of these poems' significant intertextual echoes. This is to add a temporal dimension to the reading already developed of competing ideologies in Pythian 9 and Pythian 5, since in this case we have the good fortune to be able to date all three poems with some precision.[4] Pindar's multiple, pointed intertextual echoes among these poems strongly suggest that the poet was very conscious of the different, competing ideologies that his poems mobilized, and what they would have signified for their contemporary Cyrenaean audiences. Finally, we will offer a more detailed reading of Pythian 5, as the single Pindaric poem most obsessed with topography and the mapping out of civic space.[5] We will attempt to explain why this is so in a reading of Pythian 5 for its phenomenology of space—that is, how the poem in performance conjures a spatialization of time and a temporalization of space in order to inscribe the Battiad kingship into the very topography of Cyrene.

Cyrene: Facts on the Ground

Cyrene lies south of Crete in what is now Libya.[6] One of the largest and most populous of all Greek cities, it directly controlled some 1,750 km^2 of rich farmland; for comparison, the Argive plain is about 275 km^2, Attica about 2,550 km^2.[7] Yet Cyrene was also preeminent in an area of Greek settlement that included four other poleis and encompassed an arable zone of at least 16,100 km^2, roughly twice the size of Crete.[8] This vast terrain provided a base for farming and the raising of livestock; a special product was a medicinal plant called silphium, now extinct.[9]

The Greek settlement at Cyrene is traditionally dated to 631 BCE, which corresponds to Middle Protocorinthian pottery found in the region.[10] Dorians from Thera and, perhaps, Rhodes, they did not find the land empty.[11] On the contrary, the region was rather diverse. "So far as anyone knows," says Herodotus, "[Libya] is inhabited by four peoples, and four only, of which two are indigenous and two not. The indigenous peoples are the Libyans and Ethiopians, the former occupying the northerly, the latter the more southerly, parts; the immigrants are the Phoenicians and the Greeks" (ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων, τὰ δὲ δύο οὔ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἳ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω, οἳ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπήλυδες, 4.197.2). Herodotus also mentions Nomads living in the hinterland, who seem to have been a subcategory of the Libyans.[12]

The Greeks themselves, moreover, were by no means homogenous. Sometime around 570 BCE there was a second wave of settlement.[13] Alongside the initial settlers there were now Ionians from the islands and additional Dorians from the Peloponnese and Crete. Intermarriage between these groups, as well as between Greeks and non-Greeks, was widespread; constitutional reforms of the late sixth century gave citizen rights to at least some Libyans.[14]

Tellingly, however, the dialect was Doric.[15] Despite its diversity, Cyrene maintained close ties with Sparta, itself the metropolis of Thera.[16] Like Sparta and Thera, but unlike other Greek colonies, Cyrene was a monarchy.[17] The kings descended from the oikist, Battos of Thera; they seem to have held some sort of a monopoly on the medicinal plant silphium and held a number of hereditary priesthoods.[18] The dynasty ruled for eight generations, alternating between the names Battos and Arkesilas. The kings formally submitted to Persia after Cambyses invaded Egypt in 525 BCE, and in doing so managed to retain a significant share of power.[19]

Cyrene's early history was tumultuous. The legitimacy of the state and of the monarchy were frequently at issue; dynastic quarrels split the royal house; indigenous Libyans resisted the seizure of their land; and at least one splinter group seceded to form a smaller city. Carthage loomed to the west, Egypt (later, Persia) to the east. Powerful elites dominated a vast hinterland from fortified farmsteads, using high stone towers for both storage and defense.[20] If these towers embodied the power of Greek landowners, they could also be liabilities: Herodotus (4.164) describes how Arkesilas III trapped some rebellious aristocrats in a tower and burned them alive. Such episodes were all too frequent: around the middle of the sixth century, recurrent strife between the kings and the aristocracy, probably exacerbated by ethnic tensions, culminated in the adoption of a new constitution designed to limit royal power.[21] An outside lawgiver, one Demonax of Mantinea, placed sovereign power *es meson*, metaphorically "in the middle" of the polity, while leaving certain plots of land and priesthoods to the Battiads.[22]

Demonax divided the region into three ethnic *phulai*: one comprised of Therans and *perioikoi*; another, of Cretans and Peloponnesians; and a third, of what Herodotus simply calls "all the islanders" (νησιωτέων πάντων), a broad category that included both Ionians and Dorians from Rhodes.[23] This tripartite division may have left traces on the Cyrenaean landscape itself, where survey work has detected three broad zones of habitation; it may be significant that Herodotus (4.161) refers to each group as a μοῖρα, "portion," a term that often refers to plots of land.[24] Yet the results were mixed, and factionalism was ever present.[25] The Battiads eventually summoned Persian assistance, and the satrap of Egypt restored them to power in particularly brutal fashion.[26]

Pindar's fourth Pythian (462 BCE), representing the exiled Damophilos in his efforts to curry favor with Arkesilas IV, attests to a more pacific way of smoothing over differences between royalty and aristocrats in the Classical period, while what remained of the Pax Persica was still inhibiting outright civil strife.[27] With the defeat of Xerxes, however, Susa's influence waned; Arkesilas used the occasion of his Pythian victory in 462 BCE to import mercenaries from the mainland, whom he settled at Euhesperides (modern Benghazi).[28] To no avail: ca. 450-440 BCE, a revolution toppled the monarchy and introduced a limited democracy that endured into the late fourth century.[29]

In short, Cyrene had an ethnically diverse populace crosscut by the usual divisions, notably between the monarchy and the aristocracy, between different ethnic groups within the Greek community, and between Greeks and non-Greeks. It may seem a miracle that the city survived at all, still more that it flourished as one of the largest and most populous of all Greek poleis, with a dynasty of unprecedented longevity. The Persians helped a great deal. Yet, as we shall see, the Cyrenaeans negotiated their own divisions by means of urban planning, architecture, sculpture—and choral lyric.

Mythic Origins

Given that the royal house traced its position back to the oikist Battos, Cyrene's origins were a topic of particular significance. Tales of the city's foundation passed swiftly into legend, and several different versions were in circulation by the fifth century, and probably earlier. In book 4 of the *Histories*, for instance, Herodotus tells two different foundation stories, one of which he attributes to the Therans and the other, to the Cyrenaeans. The differences between the two center on things like the selection and prominence of the oikist Battos, the identification of the colony site, and so on. These two tales seem to embody different "local knowledges," and the question of Herodotus's sources has attracted considerable scholarly interest.[30] But a deeper and arguably more important distinction obtains between two different kinds or classes of foundation narrative: "historical" ones, which emphasize Battos, and "mythological" ones, which emphasize Apollo and an eponymous nymph, Cyrene. Both of Herodotus's Cyrenaean tales are "historical" in this sense, because both center on Battos and the events of the late seventh century. Whatever the differences between the Theran and Cyrenaean accounts of these events, they pale in comparison with the difference between either story and a version in which Battos is absent and Apollo and the nymph established the town in the remote past. The two classes of story are not, of course, mutually exclusive, but in their varying emphases they do represent two different ways of thinking about the polis and the royal house.

Pindar told both kinds of stories, historical and mythological, but he varied his account depending on his patron. The distinction emerges clearly in a comparison of Pythians 9 and 5: the one commissioned by an aristocrat, Telesikrates son of Karneiadas, winner of the race in armor in 474, the other for King Arkesilas, victor in the chariot race in 462. The poem for Telesikrates gives the mythological version. Pindar says that Cyrene was founded by the god Apollo himself: traveling in Thessaly, he encountered the nymph Cyrene as she wrestled a lion; he abducted her to Libya in his chariot, where he lay with her; the nymph then gave her name to the future city-state and became patron of its water supply.[31] In this version, Cheiron prophesies to the young, impetuous Apollo:

> καὶ μέλλεις ὑπὲρ πόντου
> Διὸς ἔξοχον ποτὶ κᾶπον ἐνεῖκαι·
> ἔνθα νιν ἀρχέπολιν θήσεις, ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀγείραις
> νασιώταν ὄχθον ἐς ἀμφίπεδον· νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνιά σοι Λιβύα
> δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις
> πρόφρων· ἵνα οἱ χθονὸς αἶσαν
> αὐτίκα συντελέθειν ἔννομον δωρήσεται,
> οὔτε παγκάρπων φυτῶν νάποινον οὔτ' ἀγνῶτα θηρῶν. (P.9.52–58)

> You are going to transport her over the sea to the exceptional garden of Zeus, where you will make her ruler of a city, when you have gathered an island people to the hill surrounded by plains. But for now, mistress Libya with her broad meadows will receive your glorious bride in her golden palace gladly. There she will immediately grant her a portion of land to hold as her lawful possession, one neither without its compensation of plants rich in every fruit nor unacquainted with wild beasts.

Pindar goes on to say (59–65) that the child of Apollo's union with Cyrene is a somewhat shadowy fertility god named Aristaios—the "man of the *aristoi*," or "man of the nobility."[32]

The gist of this story is that the Greek presence in Libya is of very great antiquity: its foundation is supernatural, mythic.[33] Pindar explicitly identifies the nymph Cyrene as ἀρχέπολις (54), the "founder" or "ruler" of the city, and Apollo as the one who "gathered an island people," λαὸν νασιώταν, to the site. He omits the Battiads entirely, excising them from history; in Pythian 9, Cyrene is a "Battiad-free" zone.

Pindar is concerned, however, to narrate ordinary, human history: that of the victor's family. The father of Telesikrates bore the name Karneiadas, which bespeaks a Dorian heritage and suggests that the family may have traced its origins to Thera or Sparta.[34] Pindar, however, stresses a different lineage. He tells how a distant ancestor won a Libyan woman in a footrace:

> παρθένον κεδνὰν χερὶ χειρὸς ἑλὼν
> ἆγεν ἱππευτᾶν Νομάδων δι' ὅμιλον. πολλὰ μὲν κεῖνοι δίκον
> φύλλ' ἔπι καὶ στεφάνους· (P.9.122–24)

> He took the dear maiden hand on hand and led her through the throng of horsemen Nomads. Many were the leaves and wreaths they cast upon [him]!

This story establishes a connection between the nobleman Telesikrates and the indigenous peoples of the region, the Nomads: aboriginal yet rootless, they represent a very different territorial regime from the Greek settlement. It also establishes a connection with the rural territory of Cyrene, for Pindar sets the tale in the polis of Irasa (106), well away from Cyrene itself, and the site of a major battle between Greek and Egyptian forces in 570 BCE.[35] It was, in fact, disenfranchised Libyans who had called in the Egyptians in the first place, when Battos II seized their lands, so there is more than a little irony in Pindar's choice of setting.[36]

The contrast with Pythian 5 is stark. This latter ode, commissioned by Arkesilas IV himself, is all about the deeds of the royal house and its founder, Battos. In this version, it is Battos, not the nymph, who dispatches lions; he does so by scaring them away from the site of the future colony with the sound of his "overseas tongue" (γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν, 57–62), that is, his Greek.[37] It is Battos, not the nymph, who

ναυσὶ θοαῖς
ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.
κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν,
εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις
ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών.

μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.
ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες Ἀίδαν
βασιλέες ἱεροί
ἐντί· (P.5.87-98)

> With swift ships opened a deep path across the sea. And he built greater precincts of the gods and—for the processions of Apollo that protect mortals—he established a straight-cut, level, paved road for the clatter of horses' hoofs, where at the edge of the agora he rests apart in death. He was blessed when he dwelt among men, and thereafter a hero worshiped by his people. Apart [from him], before the houses are the other sacred kings, whose lot is Hades.[38]

Apollo does not disappear from this version, but he always acts through Battos, his chosen intermediary. Apollo is the one who commanded Battos to found the colony; in his capacity as Apollo the Founder, Apollo *Archagetas*, he speaks through Battos to scare away the lions (60–61).[39] These roles are important, but they are qualitatively different from what we saw in Pythian 9: the focus is squarely on what Pindar calls "the ancient prosperity of Battos" (ὁ Βάττου . . . παλαιὸς ὄλβος, 55), and divine inspiration or mandate only heightens the prestige of the ruling house. Other, non-Theran Greeks are likewise written out of history: as noted earlier, the Lindian Chronicle states that certain Rhodians "founded Cyrene with Battos," but Pindar makes no mention of any such thing.[40] Either the Rhodian tradition is a later invention or the poet is being selective in his account.

Broadly speaking, Pythian 5, the poem for King Arkesilas, emphasizes the genealogy of the royal house, the role of Battos the founder, and an origin for the state on the island of Thera, while Pythian 9, the poem for Telesikrates, does the opposite. It emphasizes Apollo and the nymph, pays scant attention to Thera, and highlights the mixing of Greek and indigenous Libyan populations at the expense of Greekness; this despite the fact that the patron, Telesikrates, apparently came from a family with a good Dorian pedigree. Although some scholars have tried to key these different versions to different moments in the city's history—the one popular during the Battiad heyday, the other after the monarchy's fall—the fact that both were current in Pindar's time speaks against such reductivism.[41] The difference is not chronological but ideological: each of these stories represents a different understanding of the city's character, such that the monarchists tell one, the aristocrats another. For any Greek community to survive, the trick would always be to find a way to reconcile such competing narratives. Cyrene failed in this regard, and Arkesilas was overthrown, but Pindar' s very inconsistency shows how the Libyan Greeks tried to maintain a balance.

Competing Visions

One way to maintain what Carson calls the fiction that "things hang together somehow" was to give the urban fabric itself the status of an orderly and meaningful *kosmos*. Pythian 5, for instance, is particularly concerned with such matters. Pindar is very clear that the poem is to be performed in Cyrene itself, and he mentions a number of specific locales within the city. The town occupied a long ridge running roughly from northwest to southeast, with gullies to either side (fig. 5.2).[42] The acropolis stood at the western end, overlooking the coastal plain. Prominent to any visitor coming from Greece—Pindar calls it the "white breast" (ἀργινόεντι μαστῷ, P.4.8) of the town—it is the likely site of the royal palace, as yet undiscovered (fig. 5.9). A long, straight avenue—the *Skurōta hodos*—connected the acropolis to an agora and then carried on to exit the settlement on the east, in the direction of the rural hinterland (fig. 5.3).[43] At the foot of the acropolis, below its northern face, was a cluster of sacred sites: the spring of Kyra or Cyrene, a major sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and other Greek deities, and a theatral space for performance of songs in honor of Apollo Karneios ("of the Ram") (fig. 5.4).[44] These sacred spaces would greet travelers coming from the north, who would pass them while ascending the hillside in the direction of the town center. Two more sacred zones flanked the settlement. A short distance to the northeast, across a gully and outside the original settlement, was a second hilltop, crowned with a temple of Zeus (fig. 5.10).[45] To the south, again across a gully, was a very large extramural sanctuary, or series of sanctuaries, dedicated to Demeter and Kore (fig. 5.14). Dotting the hillsides were cemeteries and small shrines to chthonic nymphs and other minor deities.[46]

We may start with that central, ridgetop avenue, with smaller streets intersecting at right angles (figs. 5.2, 5.3). Pindar actually mentions this avenue, the so-called *Skurōta hodos*, and his words are instructive. Battos, he says, "opened a deep path across the sea" (ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων, 88) and "established a straight-cut, level, paved road for the clatter of horses' hoofs, in processions of Apollo that protect mortals" (εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις | ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς | ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον | σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, 90–93). As Irad Malkin and others have pointed out, in these lines the "deep path" (βαθεῖαν κέλευθον) of Battos's ship, cleaving the waves from Thera to Africa, becomes the "straight-cut, level, paved road" (σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν) that runs like a spine through the city itself.[47] Poetic conceit (a maritime path) becomes contemporary reality (a paved street).

It becomes, therefore, archaeological reality as well: the *Skurōta hodos* is one of the most prominent features of the extant site of Cyrene. The point is not simply that we can use archaeology to illustrate Pindar; it is that we can do the opposite as well, and use Pindar to illustrate archaeology. The poet does not merely report the existence of an avenue in Cyrene, but glosses it—and thereby provides a contemporary reading of the city's topography. Pindar's conceit is that the *Skurōta* runs all the way to Thera, a

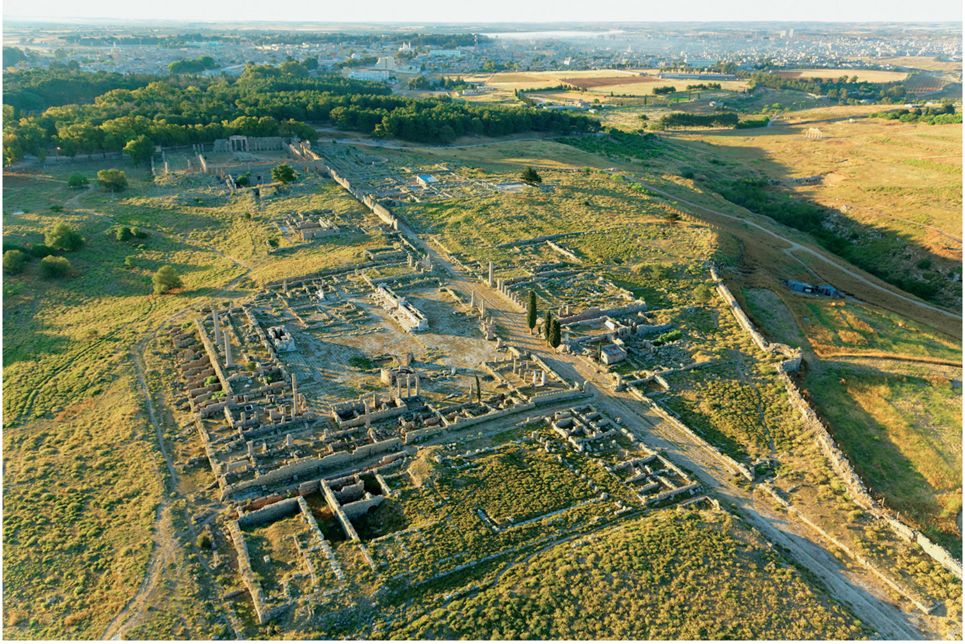


Fig. 5.3. Cyrene: aerial view of agora and *Skurōta* looking eastward. Photo: George Steinmetz / Getty Images.

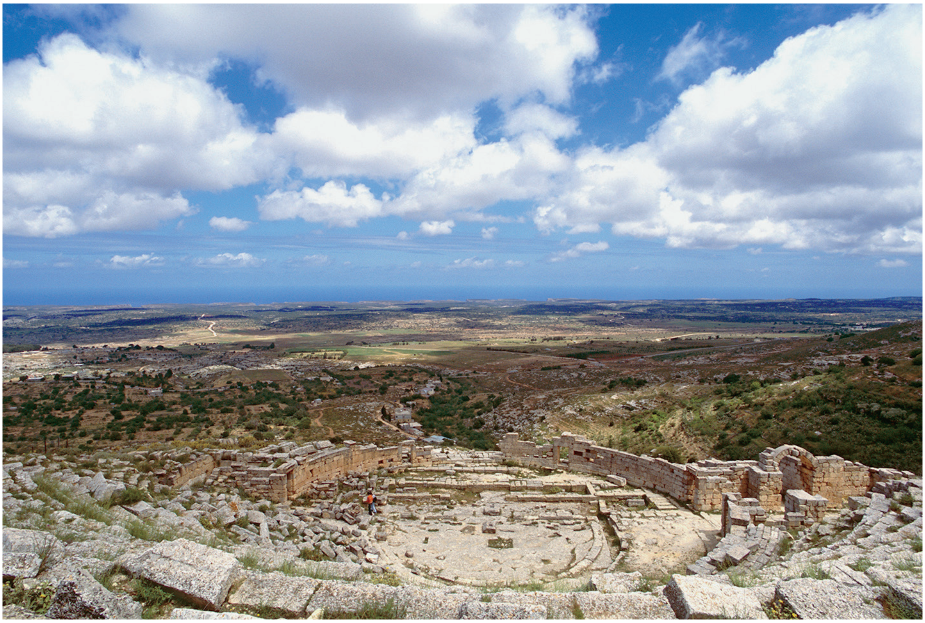


Fig. 5.4. Cyrene: “Karneian” theater of Apollo, looking northward to the sea. Photo: B. O’Kane / Alamy.

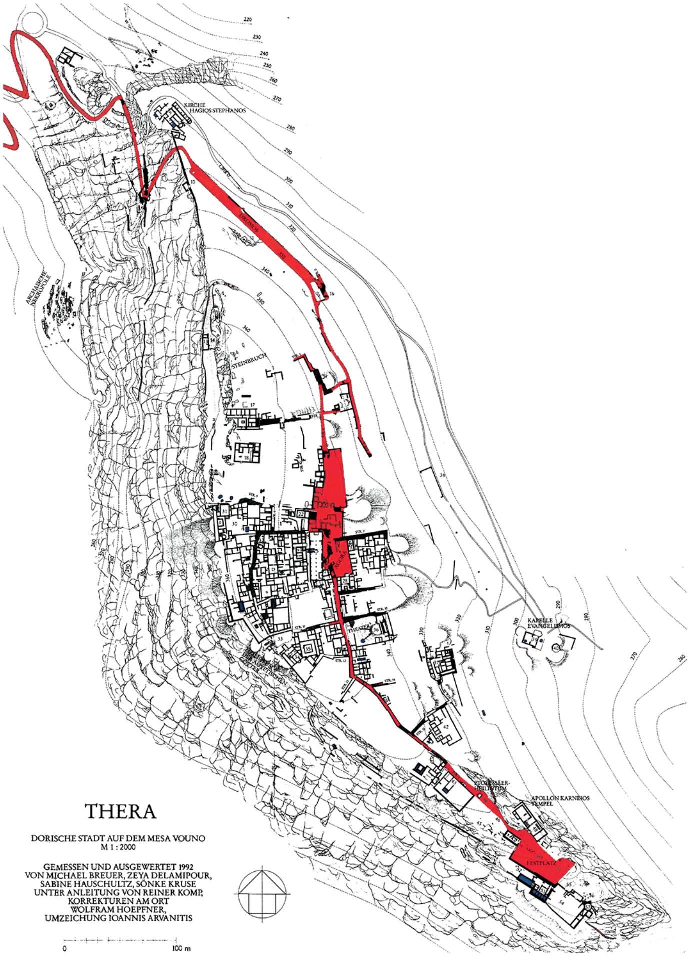

KIRCHE
HAGIOS STEPHANOS
DROMOS
ARCHAISCHE NEKROPOLE
STEINBRUCH
THEATER
KAPELLE
EVANGELISMOS
PTOLEMAER-
HEILIGTUM
APOLLON KARNEIOS
TEMPEL
FESTPLATZ
THERA
DORISCHE STADT AUF DEM MESA VOUNO
M 1 : 2000
GEMESSEN UND AUSGEWERTET 1992
VON MICHAEL BREUER, ZEYA DELAMIPOUR,
SABINE HAUSCHULTZ, SÖNKE KRUSE
UNTER ANLEITUNG VON REINER KOMP,
KORREKTUREN AM ORT
WOLFRAM HOEPFNER,
UMZEICHUNG IOANNIS ARVANITIS
0
100 m

Fig. 5.5. Thera: city plan with central artery highlighted in red. Drawing after Hoepfner 1997 (color modified).

continuous path connecting Cyrene to its motherland. He is, in a way, perfectly correct: Cyrene's plan, featuring a central avenue with secondary streets at right angles, closely resembles that of Archaic Thera, which likewise featured a central avenue with streets radiating off at right angles (fig. 5.5).[48] Arriving in Cyrene, the settlers seem to have mimicked the plan of their mother city. It was by no means common for early Greek cities to have a single ridgetop thoroughfare, and it was by no means common for a Greek colony to imitate the plan of its metropolis. On the contrary, most colonial foundations are on flat land, and the bigger ones have regular,

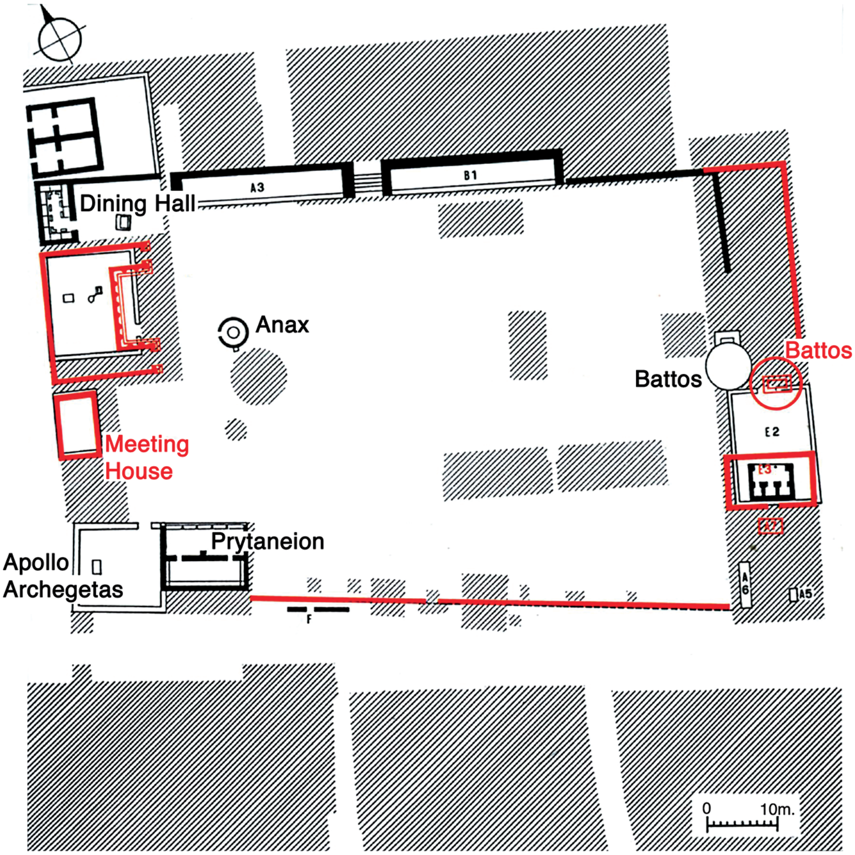


Fig. 5.6. Cyrene: plan of the agora in the fifth century BCE. Structures in black date to the Battiad period, those in red are later Classical; shaded areas represent later construction. Drawing after Purcaro 2001.

rectilinear plans quite distinct from those of their mother cities.[49] The founders of Cyrene seem to have been unusually concerned to emphasize their connection to the Old Country, so to speak. Pindar helps us to see this connection: he helps us to see how the street in Cyrene really did lead back to the origins of the city—or, more precisely, to the origins of a *certain contingent* of people within the city, the Dorian settlers and the royal house. Because, of course, not everyone in Cyrene could trace their roots back to Thera: only one tribe within the city could do so.

The agora of Cyrene presents a similar but more complex case (fig. 5.6).[50] Here it was not the form of the buildings that conveyed meaning so much as their position relative to one another. This point is especially clear in the early phases, when development was sparse. Pindar was sensitive to

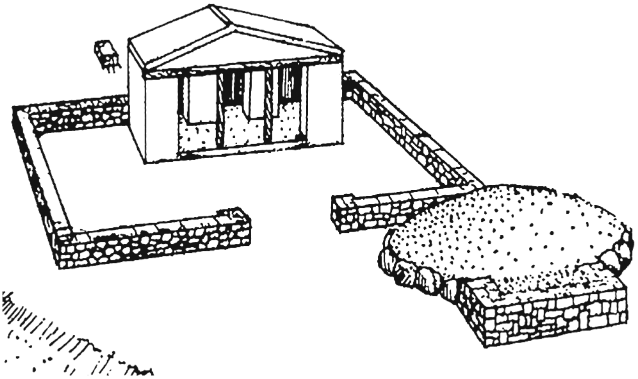


Fig. 5.7. Cyrene: reconstruction drawing of the tumulus of Battos and shrine in the agora. Drawing after Stucchi 1965.

what might be called the spatial logic of the plaza, noting that Battos lies "at the edge" of the agora, πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι, and rests "apart in death," δίχα κεῖται θανών (P.5.93). What happens when we turn to the monuments themselves?

On the east side of Cyrene's market square, excavators have indeed found the tomb of King Battos I, a low mound surrounded by a retaining wall, datable by pottery to the late seventh–early sixth centuries and containing cremated remains and tiny fragments of human bone (fig. 5.7).[51] Adjacent to the founder's tomb was a small building, either a shrine to the local god Opheles, associated with silphium, or the original house of Battos I.[52] The whole complex was remodeled in the fifth century, when Pindar saw it, and again in the fourth. At some point, almost certainly in the fifth century, a gilded bronze statue of Battos seems to have been erected here; he was shown holding a stalk of silphium.[53] Regardless of whether a silphium god was honored in this little building, this statue will have tightened the association between the royal family and this valuable export commodity, on which the kings seem to have held a monopoly.

The honors accorded to Battos I were not in themselves unusual; as we have seen, many Greek cities had hero shrines to their founders in the agora.[54] For Pindar, however, even this unremarkable feature of the urban landscape was pregnant with meaning. Placing the tomb of Battos at the end of a long, straight road that runs all the way back to Thera itself, he gives the monarchy a pedigree both ethnic and historical. The Therans also worshipped their oikist as a hero: as Pausanias puts it, "Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at the present day

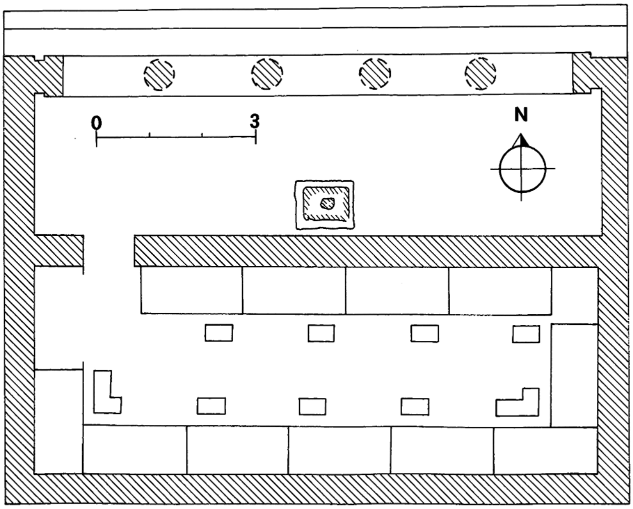


Fig. 5.8. Cyrene: plan of the prytaneion (cf. fig. 5.6). Drawing after Purcaro 2001.

the people of Thera sacrifice to him every year as their oikist" (Θήρας μὲν τῇ τε νήσῳ μετέβαλεν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καί οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῇ, 3.1.8). Once again there is a special association between monarchy, architecture, and a specifically Theran origin to the city-state.

The rest of the square was no less political. Opposite these two monuments to royal authority, on the west side of the square, stood an open-air precinct of Apollo *Archagetas*, Apollo the Founder, dating back to the earliest phases of the settlement.[55] If the mortal oikist occupies the east side of the square, the divine archegete occupies the other. In the late sixth century, a prytaneion, containing the civic hearth, was built to abut Apollo's precinct (fig. 5.8).[56] As in all other nondemocratic cities, the *prytaneis* would have been drawn from the local aristocracy; the late sixth century was, as we have seen, a period in which local elites were particularly restive.[57] Thus, royal authority and civic magistrates confronted one another on opposite sides of the town square.

This juxtaposition—kings on one side, Apollo and the *prytaneis* on the other—maps onto the two traditions of Cyrene's foundation, with the human founder, Battos, to the east and the divine founder, Apollo, to the west. The east side of the square is like Pythian 5, the poem for Arkesilas; the west side is like Pythian 9, the poem for Telesikrates. What Pindar helps us to see, in other words, is that the difference between the two foundations stories of Cyrene—the story of the kings and the story of the aristocracy, of Apollo and the nymph—organizes the urban space itself.

The difference between these two spheres of influence was not absolute. It is very likely that the kings of Cyrene were also priests of Apollo, so they had a stake in both sides of the square, thereby helping to unite the whole.[58] We are not dealing with a rigid system but rather a flexible matrix that allows for improvisation. Pindar is one such improviser: his poems are so many cadenzas on the theme of Cyrenaean origins and topography. Under some descriptions, on some occasions, the difference between mortal oikist and divine archegete could be minimized; under other descriptions, on other occasions, they could be profound. A poet's brief was to elaborate these raw materials, to stitch them together and work them like a carpenter or a stonemason. Pindar, accordingly, provided what modern scholars might call a "reading," but one that was at least potentially transformative, insofar as it made sense where there was none. City planning is another form of improvisation, albeit one that unfolds over decades or centuries; at Cyrene, architecture and civic institutions worked in tandem to make the agora a meaningful public space, but there does not seem to have been a master plan or even a single, univocal "message" that the plaza conveyed. On the contrary, it is exactly because space was amenable to improvisation, flexible not rigid, that it was able to do its job.[59]

The layout of the town's main sanctuaries obeyed a similar logic (cf. fig. 5.2). There were three: that of Pythian Apollo on the west, that of Zeus Ammon on the east, and that of Demeter, Kore, and other deities on the south. Together they functioned like three legs of a tripod to organize Cyrene into a "sacred landscape." We shall treat each of them in turn.

The sanctuary of Pythian Apollo stood at the foot of the acropolis, just below the sacred springs of Kyra and Apollo (fig. 5.9).[60] The Pythian god had impelled Battos to found the city, and (through his oracle) had advised Arkesilas III in his battles with rebellious aristocrats; the king was his priest.[61] But the Cyrenaeans also believed that it was on this very spot that Apollo had lain with the nymph Cyrene.[62] So both of Cyrene's foundation legends came together in this space. Not surprisingly, the area was sacred from the earliest phases of the settlement.

Of special importance to this sanctuary was a grand harvest festival for Apollo in his role as Karneios, "of the Ram." This festival, the Karneia, included dramatic contests that may have been performed in the nearby

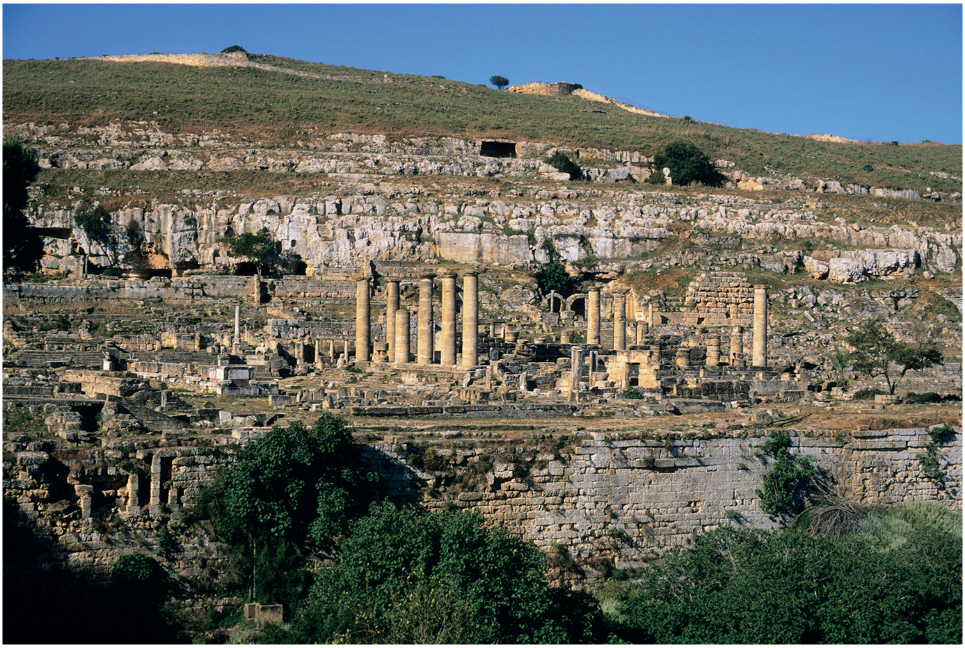


Fig. 5.9. Cyrene: view of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios from the northeast, with the city's acropolis in the background. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

theater (fig. 5.4).[63] The Karneia had strong associations with Dorians in general, and with Sparta and Thera in particular.[64] It thereby forged a link between Cyrene and its origins back in the Aegean. A monument to Apollo of the Ram erected near the end of the fourth century signaled the antiquity of the cult by representing the god as an abstract column, a "primitivist" evocation of the unworked stones found in some Archaic sanctuaries.[65]

On the opposite side of town was a sanctuary of Zeus (fig. 5.10).[66] It too goes back to the earliest phases of the settlement. Currently standing on the site is a much-restored Doric temple of the early fifth century, near which was a track for chariot racing.[67] Zeus himself was identified with the Egyptian god Amun, probably after the mid-sixth century, when a Battiad princess married the pharaoh Ahmose. Prior to this time he seems to have been associated with the Arkadian Zeus Lykaios; the adoption of the epiclesis Ammon may reflect the increasing importance of Persia and Egypt from this time.[68] Certainly it represents a turn away from the Peloponnese and toward Libya. Similar syncretism occurred at Carthage, where Baal-Hammon represented a Punic variation on the same theme; also on Cyprus, to which the Battiads had strong ties.[69] For Pindar, at any

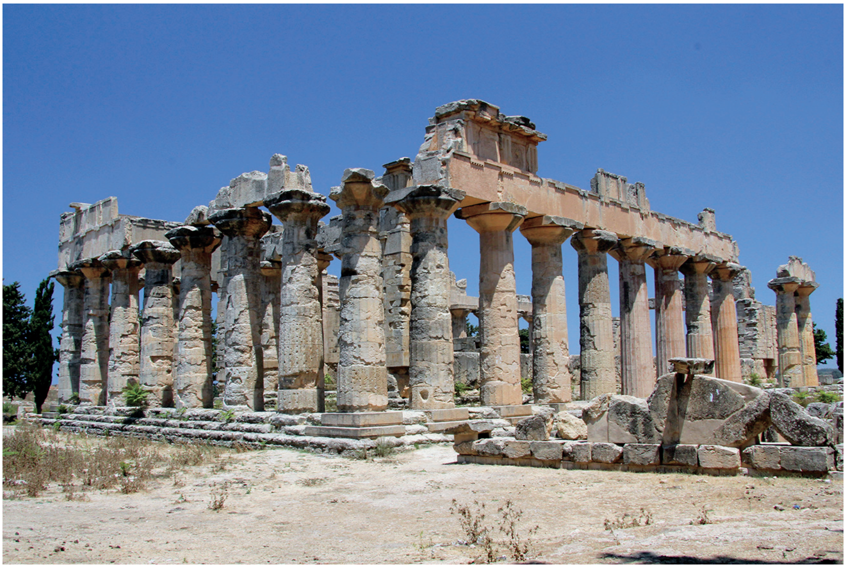
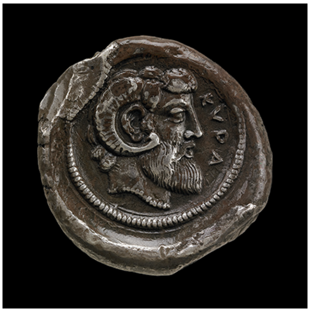


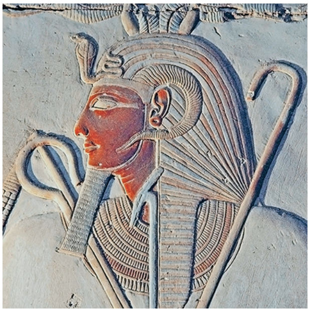
Fig. 5.10. Cyrene: temple of Zeus. Early Classical with substantial twentieth-century restoration. Photo: joepyrek (CC-BY-SA-2.0).

rate, Ammon was a sovereign figure, the "master of Olympos" (Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα), and it is tempting to see his role in Cyrene as embodying the power of the polis as a whole, as opposed to any particular *phulē* within the Greek community.[70]

The sanctuary of Zeus Ammon was originally outside the city walls: an extramural counterpart to Apollo's shrine by the acropolis. The symmetry between the two deities is striking. Both were gods of prophecy: where Apollo had his oracle at Delphi, Zeus Ammon had an equally famous oracle at Siwa in the Libyan desert. Both were associated with rams: Apollo was Karneios, "of the Ram," while Egyptians showed Amun as a ram, and Classical coins of Cyrene showed Zeus Ammon with ram's horns curling from his brow, a motif seemingly derived from pharaonic regalia (figs. 5.11, 5.12).[71] In the early fourth century, nearly the identical type, shorn of its beard, represented Apollo Karneios (fig. 5.13).[72] But there was an important difference between the two gods: where Apollo had special associations with Battos, Delphi, and Dorian ethnicity, Zeus was a hybrid, identified with a North African god.[73]

Once again, Pindar provides a gloss. The difference between Apollo, the Dorians, and Thera, on the one hand, and Zeus Ammon and the Libyans, on the other, also has an echo in the poet's odes. Pythian 5, for the king, as





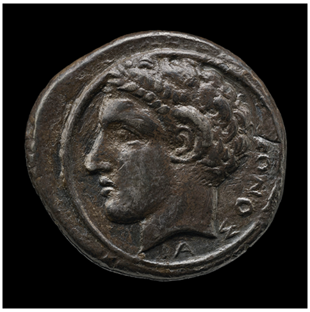


Fig. 5.11. (*left*) Coin of Cyrene (obverse): head of Zeus Ammon. For the reverse see fig. 6.2. Silver, ca. 485-430 BCE. London, British Museum (E. S. G. Robinson 1927: 42 no. 10). Photo © Trustees of the British Museum. *Fig. 5.12.* (*middle*) Abydos: temple of Seti I. Deified pharaoh as Osiris in crown with ram's horns. Sandstone, early thirteenth century BCE. Photo: Album / Alamy. *Fig. 5.13.* (*right*) Tetradrachm of Cyrene (obverse): head of Apollo Karneios. The god wears a laurel crown; the ram's horn, though worn, is clearly visible behind his ear. On the reverse is a silphium stalk. Silver, ca. 375-308 BCE. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1223. Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

we have seen, emphasizes the first half of the binary: it makes much of Pythian Apollo, the lord of Delphi, and much of the Dorians and Thera. Conversely, the intermingling of Greek and Libyan was a major theme of Pythian 9, the poem for Telesikrates. The patron traces his own bloodline back to just such a union, between his ancestor and the Libyan woman he won from the Nomads. Once again, patron and theme seem to align.[74]

Of course, Pythian 9 is also the poem that mentions Apollo and the nymph Cyrene. But Apollo comes in many guises, and in this poem Pindar does not mention him by any of the epithets by which he was worshipped in the major cults of Cyrene. Pindar does not call Apollo *Pythios* or *Karneios*, but the "Delian stranger" (Δάλιον ξεῖνον, P.9.10), that is, the Ionian god of the Cyclades. There is no evidence that Apollo of Delos was ever worshipped at Cyrene, but the term allows Pindar to draw a subtle distinction between the Pythian god—worshipped in Cyrene with the king as his priest—and another version of Apollo. It is the latter, the *Ionian* god, who lay with the nymph Cyrene back at the dawn of time, and who is associated specifically with the *Ionian* contingent in the city—even as he is marked as a foreigner, *xenos*. The poem for Telesikrates is careful to give Apollo his due, but equally careful to distinguish him from the Pythian and Karneian gods who held such importance for the Battiad rulers. Such nuances are to be expected in a real-world, pragmatic situation. Here as elsewhere, we should not think in terms of absolute, essential values or symbolic meanings, as though Apollo could mean only one thing, convey only one cogent "message." Better to think in terms of a *dispositif*, a large but finite set of possibilities that cult, architecture, and topography afforded.

The agora had juxtaposed monarchy and aristocracy, Battos and Apollo, ruler's house and prytaneion. But the two main sanctuaries took another tack. They contrasted Apollo and Zeus Ammon, the Greek ram festival and the African ram god, Greek tradition and Greco-Libyan fusion. If the one proposed a spatial correlate to the ethnic and political divisions *within* the Greek community, the other proposed a correlate to equivalent divisions *between* the Greeks as a whole and their neighbors. The people of Cyrene literally lived their lives between these poles, in the urban settlement between the two shrines.

Inside the city limits, specifically in the agora, the structuring principle was an antithesis of aristocrats and monarchs, Apollo and the nymph on the one hand, Battos and Thera on the other. This antithesis was visible in the layout of the market square, and even in the "Theran" plan of the city itself. But it was an *ideological* distinction, a symbolic one, insofar as there seems to have been no correspondence between the truth of one's bloodline and the way one presented it. Telesikrates son of Karneiadas is as purely Dorian a name as one could want, and yet his poem attributes the city's origins to "the Delian stranger," that is, to an Ionian, non-Dorian version of Apollo.[75] Just so, we know that the kings of Cyrene could intermarry with Libyan princely families (Arkesilas's grandmother was Libyan), and yet the poem for the king is all about pure lineage, a straight bloodline heading back to the Dorian world.[76]

If this distinction stressed differences within the Greek community, a very different antithesis organized the relation of the city's largest shrines. The difference between Pythian Apollo on the one hand, and Zeus Ammon on the other, is a difference between a purely Greek idea of the community, and a more complex or hybrid one. Apollo, inside the walls, connects the city to Greece, no matter which aspect of him receives emphasis. Zeus Ammon, outside the walls, connects the city to Libya, to Egypt, to Carthage, to the indigenous peoples who, in reality, were intermarrying with the Greeks all the time.[77] Here again Pindar helps us to see the stakes, in the difference between the poem that stresses direct descent from the founder and the one that stresses mixed, Greco-Libyan ancestry.

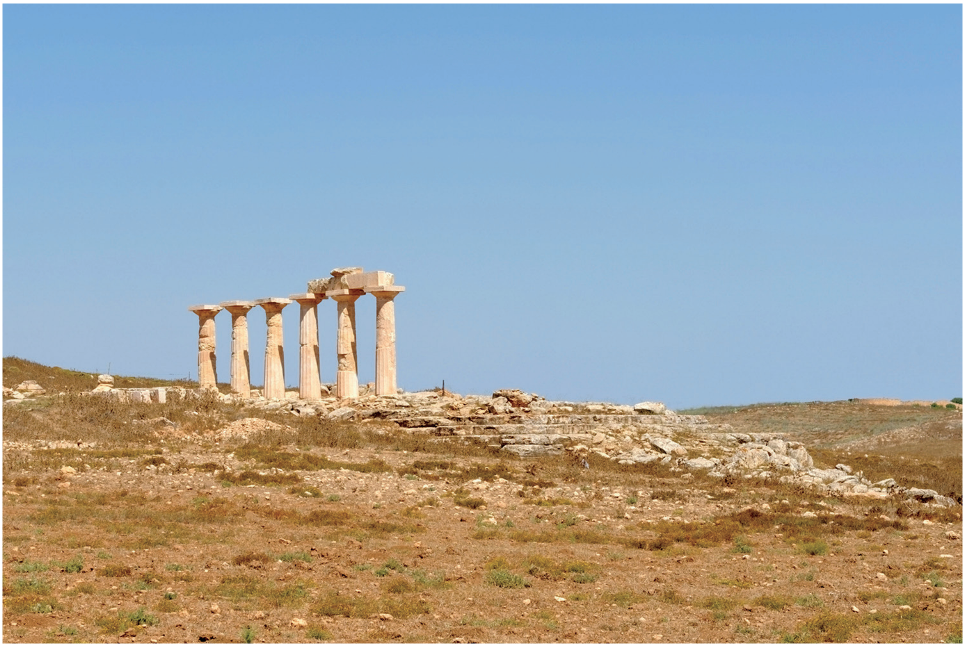


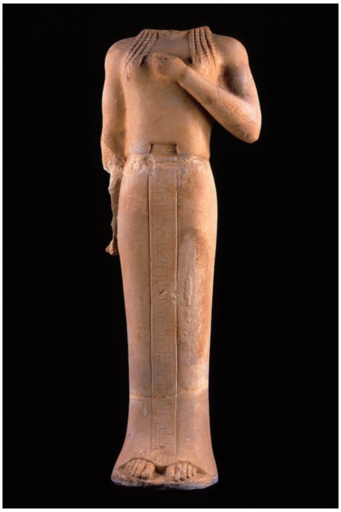
Fig. 5.14. Cyrene: Doric temple southeast of the main settlement. The acropolis and the agora are visible in the right background across a ravine. Early Classical period. Photo: Sklifas Steven / Alamy.

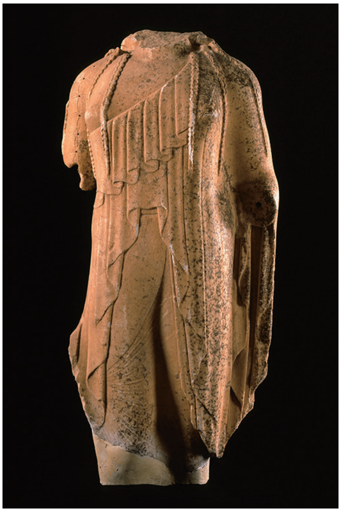
Cyrene's third great sacred area represents a tertium quid between these poles (fig. 5.14). Outside the walls and across a ravine, a long, terraced complex ran nearly the full length of the town's southern flank. At the east end, along the inland road, were two Doric temples of the early fifth century. One, hexastyle prostyle, may have been dedicated to Demeter.[78] The other temple, a hexastyle peripteros (discovered only in 2006), remains anonymous.[79] Nearby were smaller sanctuaries of Apollo Apotropaios, the Nymphs, Zeus Ammon, and other deities, as well as a late Classical or Hellenistic theater associated with Dionysos.[80] Anchoring the complex at the western end, more than 500 m from the prostyle temple, was a large precinct of Demeter and Kore, believed to have been a Thesmophorion, containing numerous small *oikoi* and a great many marble and terracotta statues and figurines.[81] Although the exact relation between these component parts remains unclear, the net effect was, as Mario Luni observes, to create a vast liminal zone between the urban settlement and the hinterland to the south: a *ceinture sacrée*, or "sacred belt," that articulated the space of the polis.[82]

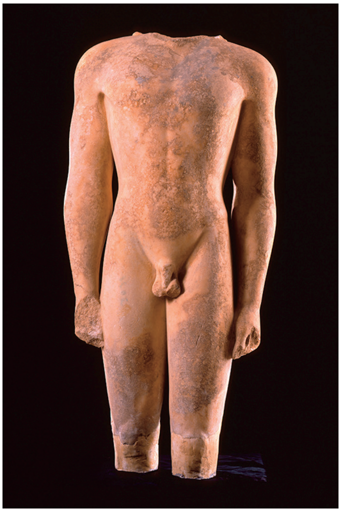
The pattern of dedication at these various sanctuaries is fully consistent with Herodotus's picture of an assertive aristocracy. In particular, Cyrene has yielded a striking number of costly, Ionicizing dedications: five korai, at least four kouroi (a possible fifth has gone missing), and a sphinx on an Ionic column, all of Aegean marble (figs. 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18).[83] Stylistically they suggest sculptors from East Greece and the Islands, Naxos and Chios in particular; all seem to be votive, as opposed to mortuary.[84] The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at the western end of the southern extramural complex was particularly rich in this regard; the other main sources are the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and a votive deposit found near the westernmost extremity of the *Skurōta*, associated plausibly with an extramural *temenos* in the same vicinity.[85] This concentration of marble sculpture is noteworthy for two reasons. First, Archaic marble sculpture of any kind is scarce in the West, as the stone had to be imported at great expense from the Aegean.[86] Second, kouroi and korai were not popular in the Dorian world; korai, in particular, are rare outside the Ionian cities of the central Aegean. Cyrene's nine (or ten) examples compare favorably with a grand total of twelve from the entire Peloponnese combined.[87] When it comes to statues, in other words, Cyrene was anomalous both geographically and ethnically.

It might be tempting to take these sculptures as evidence for the presence of Ionians and "islanders" in Cyrene's population.[88] The immigrants, on this view, will have brought with them the habit of dedicating marble statuary, and naturally they chose sculptural types familiar to them from the Aegean. This explanation, however, will not suffice, for the Ionians and islanders who settled in Italy, Sicily, and the Black Sea did no such thing; we do not have large numbers of marble kouroi or korai from, say, the Ionian foundations at Sicilian Naxos, Massalia, or Histria.[89] Cyrene is anomalous, in short, even relative to Ionian settlements.

It seems preferable, therefore, to take the Ionian style of the statues as meaningful in itself. As we have seen, the kings of Cyrene made much of their Dorian heritage, even as at least one aristocrat, Telesikrates, went out of his way to associate the city with Delian—that is to say, Ionian—Apollo, notwithstanding his own Dorian patronym (Karneiadas). Such being the case, these Ionian-style sculptural dedications may have been a vehicle for self-assertion by local elites regardless of any prior ethnic affiliation: if the kings were stressing their Dorian origins, then to "go Ionian" would have been a way of standing out.[90] On this view, the Ionicizing statues would not tell us about demographics but about cultural politics. Such dedications may have held special appeal to Cyrene's aristocrats precisely because they were







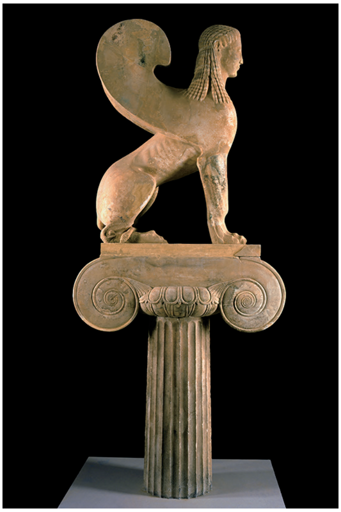


Fig. 5.15. (*top left*) Cyrene: East Greek/island-style kore from votive deposit (cf. the example from Klaros in fig. 2.30). Marble, mid-sixth century BCE. Cyrene, Museum. Photo © Gilles Mermet / Art Resource, NY. *Fig. 5.16.* (*top right*) Cyrene: kore from the sanctuary of Apollo (one of a pair). Marble, ca. 500 BCE. Cyrene, Museum, 14.008. Photo © Gilles Mermet / Art Resource, NY. *Fig. 5.17.* (*bottom left*) Cyrene: kouros from votive deposit. Marble, mid-sixth century BCE. Cyrene, Museum. Photo © Gilles Mermet / akg-images. *Fig. 5.18.* (*bottom right*) Cyrene: sphinx and Ionic capital from votive deposit. Marble, mid-sixth century BCE. Cyrene, Museum. Photo © Gilles Mermet / Art Resource, NY.

not Dorian, *not* Theran, *not* Battiad. Statues of this type are a bit out of place in Libya, and it is perhaps not too far-fetched to imagine the kouros in figure 5.17 as a marble analogue to Pindar's "Delian stranger": an Ionian Apollo turning up as a sort of *xenos* in Cyrene. A dedication of this sort would have been an elegant way to express piety without conforming to the ideology of Karneios and Pythios so integral to Battiad rule, especially if it were set in an extramural sanctuary in the "contact zone" between town and country.

Unfortunately, we do not know for certain who made these dedications—royal patrons or elites? It is certainly possible that some or all of the Ionicizing dedications were made by Battiads and their families. Yet comparative evidence, while not decisive, suggests that this scenario is unlikely. Although the Battiad monarchy was an oddity at a time when few Greek cities had ruling kings, many scholars have noted its similarity to a much more common form of government: tyranny.[91] Like tyrants, the kings of Cyrene tended to suppress restive elites in favor of one-man (monarchical) rule. One might, therefore, expect the overall pattern of Battiad dedications to resemble whatever norms pertained under tyranny. Such is indeed the case at Delphi and Olympia, where the Battiads erected chariot dedications in the fifth century much like the Deinomenid tyrants of Sicily (and where, like the Deinomenids, they recruited mercenaries).[92] Yet Greek tyrants seem not to have been great patrons of the kouros and kore type; on the contrary, as Andrew Stewart has argued, the tyrants tended to discourage both types, as smacking too much of aristocratic, hence antityrannical *megaloprepeia*.[93] It would therefore be surprising (but not, of course, impossible) to find the Battiad monarchs actively indulging in this particular "statue habit." The implication is that the statues from Cyrene were private votives, which makes the hypothesis that they represent a certain cultural dissidence within the city-state all the more attractive.[94]

Tantalizingly, a similar pattern emerges in the necropoleis of Cyrene. While the public architecture of Archaic and Classical Cyrene is uniformly Doric, a substantial number of Archaic rock-cut tombs in a necropolis to the north of the city center use the Ionic order (fig. 5.19).[95] These Ionic tombs appear at the end of the sixth century, at just the moment when internal tensions were at their highest, with the reforms of Demonax and the temporary limitation of Battiad power.[96] Although it would be reductive to correlate Ionic architecture to Ionic ethnicity, nonetheless the tomb architecture does suggest a contrast between state buildings and private mortuary display. This Ionicism seems exactly comparable to the private dedication of Ionic-style votives.[97]

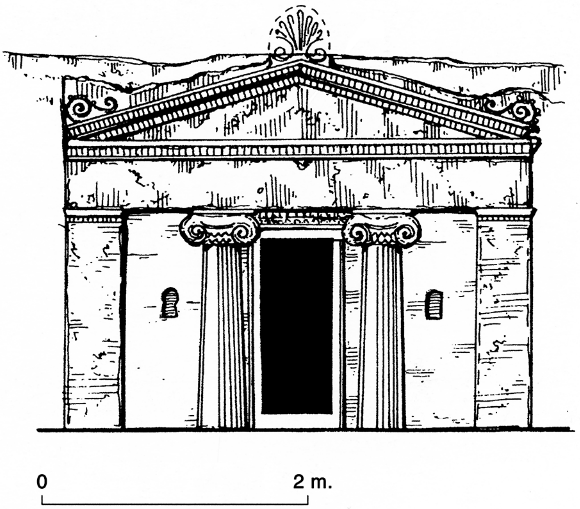


Fig. 5.19. Cyrene, northern necropolis: Ionic façade of Tomb N. 8. Late Archaic–early Classical. Drawing after Thorn 2005, plate 74.

Beyond Libya: Cyrenaean Dedications at Delphi and Olympia

Cyrenaean dedications at Delphi and Olympia conform to the same patterns. Telesikrates, for instance, erected a statue of himself at Delphi: Pythian 9 is the poetic counterpart to elite self-assertion in bronze.[98] Pausanias, likewise, describes two offerings at Olympia that a father and son made in the first half of the fifth century, both works of the famous sculptor Pythagoras of Rhegion. Mnaseas, the father, won the race in armor, probably in 484 BCE.[99]

> παρὰ δὲ τὸν Βύκελον ὁπλίτης ἀνὴρ ἐπίκλησιν Λίβυς Μνασέας Κυρηναῖος ἕστηκε· Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα.
>
> By the side of [the statue of] Bukelos stands a hoplite man, Mnaseas of Cyrene, nicknamed "Libyan"; Pythagoras of Rhegion made the likeness.[100]

Pliny also knew this statue, which he referred to simply as "a Libyan."[101] Whatever Mnaseas's real ancestry may have been, his self-presentation was not that of a pure-blooded Greek: either the inscription identified him as Libyan, or some feature of iconography must have kept the tradition alive (for the iconography of the *hoplitodromos*, see chapter 2, above).[102] If a Libyan hoplite seems the furthest thing imaginable from official Battiad imagery, still Pindar evokes something very similar at the end of Pythian 9 for Telesikrates (like Mnaseas a winner of the *hoplitodromos*): the scene shifts to Irasa, as the runner Alexidamos wins the daughter of Libyan Antaios and leads her in a *phullobolia* (P.9.103-25).

The son, Kratisthenes, won the Olympic chariot race in 464 BCE, just two years before Arkesilas took the crown at Pytho:

> Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κυρηναίου Κρατισθένους χαλκοῦν ἅρμα, καὶ Νίκη τε ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ ἅρματος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κρατισθένης. δῆλα μὲν δὴ ὅτι ἵππων γέγονεν αὐτῷ νίκη· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Μνασέου τοῦ δρομέως, ἐπικληθέντος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Λίβυος, εἴη παῖς ὁ Κρατισθένης. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου Πυθαγόρου τέχνη.
>
> There is also a bronze chariot of Kratisthenes of Cyrene, and Nike has mounted the chariot, and so has Kratisthenes himself. It is thus clear that his victory was equestrian. The story goes that Kratisthenes was the son of Mnaseas the runner, nicknamed "Libyan" by the Greeks. His dedications at Olympia are the craft of Pythagoras of Rhegion.[103]

The striking point in this case—apart from the sheer ostentation of the monument—is the continuity across generations. Like father, like son: Kratisthenes forges a connection with the past by commissioning a monument from the same artist as his father. Again, the analogy of Pythian 9 obtains: if Telesikrates evokes "the ancient glory of his ancestors" (παλαιὰν δόξαν ἑῶν προγόνων, P.9.105) by recalling a Libyan marriage, then Mnaseas and Kratisthenes commemorate two generations of winning while stressing Libyan origins.

These aristocratic dedications bear comparison with a third, this time at Delphi:

> Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς Βάττον ἐπὶ ἅρματι, ὃς ἐς Λιβύην ἤγαγε σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκ Θήρας. ἡνίοχος μὲν τοῦ ἅρματός ἐστι Κυρήνη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἅρματι Βάττος τε καὶ Λιβύη στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν αὐτόν· ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀμφίων Ἀκέστορος Κνώσσιος.
>
> The Cyrenaeans have dedicated at Delphi a Battos in a chariot; he it was who led them in ships from Thera to Libya. The charioteer is Cyrene, and in the chariot is Battos, who is being crowned by Libya. Amphion son of Akestor of Knossos made it. [104]

Chamoux convincingly associates this last monument with Arkesilas IV: not only does the Battiad iconography preclude a date after the fall of the monarchy, but Amphion son of Akestor was active in the middle of the fifth century.[105] It follows that the monument belongs relatively late in the king's reign, well after Pythian 9 (474 BCE) and Mnaseas's statue (484 BCE) and probably after the Kratisthenes group (464 BCE) as well. Its precise occasion, on the other hand, is less clear. Notwithstanding recurrent attempts to associate the group with Arkesilas's own chariot victory in 462 BCE, it was clearly not an athletic monument: it does not represent the victor, and it was not offered by Arkesilas but by "the Cyrenaeans" as a collective (the Kratisthenes group makes a telling contrast in both respects).[106] Both the imagery and the dedication might have been suitable to commemorate a military victory, for which a chariot group could be perfectly appropriate.[107] Yet Cyrene was at peace throughout the period in question: as a subject of the Great King, it had no independent foreign policy.[108] It is, moreover, inconceivable that a victory monument should omit to mention the victory in question, yet Pausanias is silent on this score even as he quotes the artist's signature from the base.

The most likely explanation, therefore, is that the Battos group was a thank-offering for prosperity, produced late in the reign of Arkesilas IV but with no formal connection to his victory of 462 BCE. The imagery, Battos crowned by Libya, seems well suited to such a gift. Thank-offerings were, as Anne Jacquemin has shown, quite common at Delphi, ranging from the treasury of the Siphnians to a "crop" (θέρος) from Metapontion.[109] Given that chariot groups were appropriate to a variety of contexts, there seems prima facie no reason to suppose that the type could not have been an apt way to celebrate "the ancient prosperity of Battos" (ὁ Βάττου παλαιὸς ὄλβος, P.5.55). On the contrary, it would have been especially apt since, according to Herodotus, "it was from the Libyans that the Greeks learned to drive the four-horse chariot" (τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι, 4.189.3), and the vehicle was still in widespread use in the region.[110] Another Cyrenaean chariot group, also at Delphi, depicted Ammon in the car: presumably postdating the monarchy, and perhaps even responding to the Battos group, it likewise seems to have had no association with any particular victory but to have been a general mark of gratitude.[111] One might compare the way that, on Sicilian coinage of the Classical period, the image of Nike crowning the driver of a four-horse chariot lost any association with individual victors and became merely generic, what Colin Kraay called "the almost universal mark of the Sicilian tetradrachm."[112]

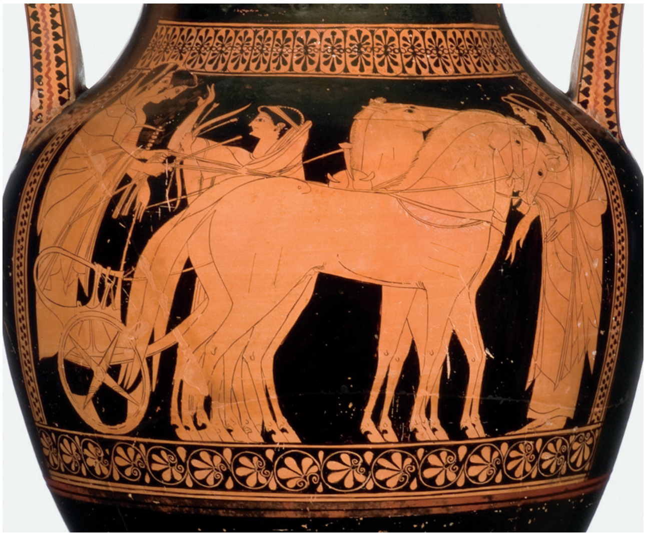


Fig. 5.20. Attic red-figure amphora by the Painter of Munich 2306 (name-piece). The charioteer is Leto, and in the chariot is Apollo, who is being crowned by Artemis; an unidentified female serves as groom at right. Clay, ca. 500 BCE. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2306 (J406). Photo by Renate Kühling, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

Even the gesture of crowning need not presuppose a specific achievement. The Battiad chariot compares closely to an Athenian red-figure amphora of ca. 500 BCE that shows Leto driving Apollo in a quadriga as Artemis places a crown on his head (fig. 5.20).[113] No special occasion prompts the gesture: it merely acknowledges the god's magnificence ("Mistress Leto rejoices at having borne a powerful archer son," χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ, οὕνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν, as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* puts it).[114] Something similar may have obtained in this case: Libya does not bestow a crown of victory, but what Pindar would call a "lordly crown of wealth" (πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον, P.1.50).

The result is a statement of Battiad sovereignty over both Cyrene and Libya. This statement was timely in the wake of the Persian Wars. As we have seen, the defeat of Xerxes deprived the Battiads of their most important ally, even as it gave them every incentive to assert their own autonomy, and Arkesilas responded by recruiting mercenaries in mainland Greece.[115] The monument at Delphi might be seen in this light, as an advertisement, in effect, for the wealth of the monarchs and the Libyan *chōra*.

Yet the Battos group was also a response, virtually point by point, to aristocratic rhetoric. The monuments, the poems, and indeed the layout of Cyrene itself share a consistent set of ethnic, religious, and ideological terms—and, more importantly, relate them to one another in consistent ways. Zeus, Greco-Libyan mixing, and aristocracy stand over against Apollo, direct descent from the oikist, and monarchy. Where Pythian 9 speaks of "chariot-driving Cyrene" (διωξίππου . . . Κυράνας, P.9.4) and personifies Libya as one who welcomes the nymph and grants her territory (P.9.55-59), the monument at Delphi diverts these same motifs to the glory of the Battiads. Where Mnaseas self-identifies as "Libyan," Battos receives the homage of Libya personified; where Kratisthenes erects a monument to himself at the shrine of Zeus, the state celebrates the ruling house at the shrine of Apollo. Keyed to an outside audience, the Battos group downplays the ethnic divisions within Cyrene's Greek population by combining *both* foundation myths, the story of Battos and the story of Apollo whisking the nymph away to Libya in his chariot—Delphi, where Battos received his oracle, being especially suited to such a synthesis.

At home, by contrast, the pressing task was to finesse these distinctions. The historian Theotimos of Cyrene (second century BCE) reports that when Arkesilas finally won his Pythian victory in 462, "he crowned his homeland" (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐστεφάνωσε).[116] Taken literally, this phrase suggests an offering of the victor's crown to the poliadic deity, in this case Apollo: the gesture, traditional in Greek cities, established a relation of felicitous reciprocity between city and victor and helped to reintegrate the numinous athlete into the home community.[117] It is very tempting to set this crowning of the πατρίς, or "homeland," alongside the dedication at Delphi, in which the πατρίς (Libya) crowns Battos. Regardless of which came first, the basic pattern of reciprocity is unmistakable: between the Battiads and Libya there was a "mutual admiration society"—at least, to hear the Battiads tell it. History would, of course, prove otherwise, and Arkesilas ended his days in exile at Euhesperides, under the protection of the very mercenaries he recruited at Pytho, before being murdered. There was a gap between official discourse and political reality—a gap that, as we shall see in the next chapter, it was the task of choral lyric to bridge.

CHAPTER SIX

The City, the Body, and the Eye

Taken together, Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 provide an extended gloss on the cityscape of Cyrene. They provide a way to make sense of the polis in its spatial and historical extension, and of patterns of dedication and iconography at Cyrene, Delphi, and Olympia. The result is improvisatory and situational (the poet, as we have seen, emphasizes different aspects of myth depending on his patron); it should not be taken as the "truth" of Cyrene so much as the opportunistic bricolage of a supremely subtle craftsman. The monuments at Delphi and Olympia give this pattern a panhellenic dimension—and so, of course, do Pindar's odes.

Yet it remains to be shown just how (or whether) this somewhat abstract structure of connotations cashed out in practice, on the ground. What would it be like to *inhabit* a spatial matrix of the sort that Pindar constructs? This question may be unanswerable. What we can see, however, are the strategies—the specific dictional, prosodic, and tropological devices—that Pindar uses to, as it were, embody his thematic. As we hope to show, Pythian 5 is centrally concerned to materialize its own spatial thematics: it acts out or allegorizes precisely this movement from figural structure to corporeal enactment, not least by virtue of being performed by an ambient troupe of citizen choreuts who inhabit the very spaces of which they sing. We must, in short, read the poems no less attentively than the poems read the landscape.

In this chapter, we return to Pindar's poems with the interpretive structures and patterns gleaned from the archaeological record in order to nuance our contrastive reading of Pythian 9 and Pythian 5, with their different political agendas and founding myths, and to include Pythian 4 in this contestatory dialogue of poems. We will first trace out a set of oppositions that inform Pythian 9 (for Telesikrates) and Pythian 5 (for the king Arkesilas), then turn to consider how Pythian 4 works to mediate the various opposing terms.

Aristocrat and King: Spatializing Politics

The first opposition to note is in the sources of oracular authority. All three odes are replete with "ancient-spoken prophecies" that infuse their colonial narratives with a structure of Greek manifest destiny, while also enabling a direct connection between the narrated past and the audience's present.[1] It is of course the Delphic oracle that regularly serves this function within Greek colonial narratives, and the Delphic oracle that figures prominently in the Battiad foundation narrative of Pythian 5, as the moving force behind the Dorian foundation of cities that links Sparta, Thera, and Cyrene in a single glorious and inexorable chain (P.5.68-81).[2] Given this as the colonial norm, it is therefore striking that Pythian 9 embeds within its myth an extended oracular utterance that is not only *not* Delphic but actually delivered to Apollo himself as "receiver"—that of the wise centaur Cheiron reluctantly offered to the young, naïve Apollo cast in the role of his pupil (P.9.37-65). Scholars have noted the "paradox" of Apollo as receiver of an oracle, but have mainly treated this as a charming vignette of youthful infatuation, rather than registering any political or ideological motive for this displacement of oracular authority.[3]

Second, we might note that Pythian 9, the earliest of the three odes for the Cyrenaean aristocrat Telesikrates, is a poem obsessed with marriage, intermarriage, and exogamy, as scholars have long recognized.[4] This includes the final narrative of Telesikrates's ancestor Alexidamos winning his Libyan bride in a race (itself modeled on the bride-race set up by Danaos for his forty-eight daughters, P.9.105-25), but expands to become a dominant image system in the poem for the ongoing positive exchanges between Cyrene in North Africa and the Greek mainland. Thus Apollo whisks Cyrene off from Thessaly to Libya to establish her as ἀρχέπολις ("city-leader," P.9.54), while the victor "leads lovely glory from Delphi" like a bride (P.9.75).[5] In marked contrast, the Battiad version of Pythian 5 highlights a system whereby strangers are made into *philoi* in its emphasis on royal hospitality (*xenia*).[6] Thus in the first epode, Arkesilas is urged to "receive" and "love" his *hetairos*, Karrhotos, who leads victory from Delphi (P.5.22-29), while in the second, the "ancient prosperity of Battos" is celebrated as "an eye most radiant for strangers" (ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον ξένοισι, P.5.56-57). As Eveline Krummen has noted, this latter formulation anticipates the cultic "reception" of the Trojan Antenoridai narrated in the third antistrophe and epode (P.5.82-88), with its own brain-teasing, impossible chronology, which collapses primordial past and festival present.[7]

Third, in Pythian 9, together with the suppression of Delphic Apollo, the landscape of Cyrene is largely dominated by other divinities (see fig. 5.2). Thus, in addition to the mention of Aphrodite (P.9.9) and the personified Libya (P.9.55), Cheiron prophesies that Apollo "the Delian stranger" (P.9.10) will "transport [Cyrene] over the sea to the exceptional garden of Zeus" (καὶ μέλλεις ὑπὲρ πόντου | Διὸς ἔξοχον ποτὶ κᾶπον ἐνεῖκαι, P.9.52–53). Most modern commentators follow the ancient scholiasts in taking this as a broad general reference to Libya as the entire territory extending west of the shrine of Zeus Ammon at Siwa.[8] Indeed, we might imagine that the "garden of Zeus" is all the territory east of the city of Cyrene bookended between the extramural temple of Zeus on the northeast hill and the oracular shrine of Zeus Ammon at the oasis of Siwa, some 330 miles (530 km) distant as the crow flies. But Christopher Carey has suggested that Pindar's "exceptional garden of Zeus" may also hint at the fabulous garden in the far west where (according to Greek legend) Zeus and Hera first consummated their marriage and where golden apples grow, tended by the Hesperides beside Atlas propping up the sky.[9] If we may accept this hint as well, Pindar's "garden of Zeus" conjures an image of the territory of Libya as a magically fertile land stretching from the eastern desert all the way to the Pillars of Herakles in the far west. The other gods who populate the landscape of Pythian 9 are Hermes, together with the Horai and Gaia, who nurture and make immortal the son of Apollo and Cyrene, Aristaios (P.9.59–65); Pallas Athena and Gaia figure also as patrons of local athletic contests in Cyrene (P.9.97–102).[10]

In marked contrast, it is Apollo who dominates Pythian 5, mentioned or invoked in each of the poem's four triads, as the oracular god of Delphi and as Apollo Karneios, patron of Dorian settlement (P.5.23, 60, 63–72, 79–80, 104).[11] The extraordinary emphasis on Apollo in Pythian 5 has led many modern scholars to argue that this ode was originally composed for performance at the Cyrenaean Karneia and partly shaped by the distinctive generic features of the paian, Apollo's own cult song.[12] Only in the final movement of Pythian 5 does Pindar shift his focus from Apollo to Zeus, offering a brief prayer for the victor's future success:

> Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
> δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων.
> εὔχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦτο δόμεν γέρας ἔπι Βάττου γένει. (P.5.122–24)

> The great mind of Zeus steers the personal fate of men who are dear. I pray him to grant this honor at Olympia to the race of Battos.

On one level, the shift to Zeus is appropriate simply because the poet is here wishing for a future Olympic chariot victory for "the race of Battos." At another level, Pindar's general assertion that "the great mind of Zeus steers the personal fate of men who are dear" may conjure up an older, Hesiodic model of divinely endorsed kingship, recalling the analogous shift from Apollo to Zeus toward the end of the *Theogony* proem: "From the Muses and far-working Apollo are men who are singers upon the earth and kithara players, but kings are from Zeus" (Ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος | ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί, | ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες·, Hesiod, *Theogony* 94–96).[13]

Finally, these different constellations of gods in Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 correspond to significantly different spatializations or representations of landscape in the two odes. Simply put, Pythian 9 is all about the *chōra*, while Pythian 5 is entirely focused on urban topography. More specifically, within its setting of the expansive "garden of Zeus," Pythian 9 celebrates the Cyrenaean countryside for its dual fecundity in flocks and fruit—that is to say, for its combination of pastoralism and agriculture. Thus in the introduction of the myth we are told that Apollo will settle Cyrene as "mistress of a land rich in flocks and very rich in fruit" (πολυμήλου καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας . . . χθονός, P.9.6a–7), and all the poem's references to the fertility of Libya maintain this dual emphasis.[14] The nymph Cyrene at home in Thessaly is the protector of her father's cows (P.9.20-25), just as her son by Apollo, Aristaios, will be for Cyrene "a joy to men who are dear, nearest attendant of sheepflocks, Agrios and Nomios" (P.9.64-65).[15] It is worth emphasizing that this version of Aristaios as divine helper of pastoralists is a partial and selective one. For we know of an ancient tradition that it was Aristaios who "discovered the working of silphium, just as also of honey."[16] There is no mention here of silphium, that magical medicinal plant, which the king of Cyrene seems to have controlled as a monopoly. Instead Aristaios, the "one of the *aristoi*," concerns himself only with hunting and animal husbandry.[17]

At the same time, agricultural fertility, both literal and metaphorically applied to fruitful marital unions, permeates the poem (P.9.37, 55-58, 72, 109-12).[18] This dual emphasis conforms to the husbandry practices of the Cyrenaean aristocracy. Shim'on Applebaum argues that the Greek elites owned vast landed estates, where they engaged in the rearing of livestock, but they are likely also to have owned tracts of land in each of the region's three different climatic zones, enabling the sequential sowing and reaping of three different cereal crops for a harvest season that extended a miraculous five months (April to August).[19] Pythian 5, by contrast, concerns itself entirely with the built landscape of the city of Cyrene, together with its connection with several sites in Greece and the Aegean.[20]

We can summarize the oppositions between Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 as follows:

Pythian 9	Pythian 5
Non-Delphic oracle (Cheiron) to Delian Apollo	Delphic oracle
Intermarriage/exogamy	*Xenia*
Zeus, Horai, Gaia, Aristaios	Apollo Karneios, Battos
Chōra	Urban center

We will return to Pythian 5 to discuss its urban topography in more detail in the last section of this chapter. Before doing so, however, we need to see how Pythian 4 positions itself as intermediate between these two discursive "zones."

Pythian 4: Triangulating a Compromise

Composed and performed for the same royal victory as Pythian 5, Pythian 4 seems to have been commissioned by the formerly rebellious aristocrat Damophilos to effect or ratify his return from exile.[21] To that end, Pythian 4 forges a rapprochement between the two sides, reconciling various ideological oppositions that the other two odes pose more starkly, while always (of course), for the sake of its brief, privileging the monarchy. We cannot be sure what the order of performance of Pythian 4 and Pythian 5 was, and scholars have offered various arguments. We are inclined to follow those scholars who assume that Pythian 4, which contains only the briefest references to Arkesilas's Pythian chariot victory (P.4.2-3, 66-67), would have been performed after Pythian 5, the full-scale epinikian celebration.[22] On this reading, the listening audience would first hear the official Battiad version of all the oppositions endorsed in Pythian 5, and then (immediately afterwards? the next day?) the version of Pythian 4 that reconciles or integrates the royal and aristocratic sides of these binaries.

We make no attempt here to offer a full reading of Pythian 4, which is at once vaster in its mythological, geographic, and temporal scope and more intimate in its address than either Pythian 5 or Pythian 9. Our interest is simply in the particular ideological reconciliation (*diallagē*) that the poem performs in relation to the other two Cyrene odes.[23]

To begin with, Pythian 4 reconciles the opposition of non-Delphic and Delphic oracles by offering both. The first movement of the myth in Pythian 4 intricately interweaves the Delphic oracle to "Battos the founder" mentioned immediately (P.4.4-8) with the heroic-era prophecy of Medea on Thera, delivered seventeen generations earlier (P.4.9-58), which itself remarkably ends by prophesying the Delphic prophecy to Battos in a kind of mantic *mise en abîme* or hall of mirrors. The poet in his own voice then reinforces the conjunction of the two oracular utterances through his direct address to Battos as "son of Polymnastos," which in turn introduces a fuller account of his fateful Delphic consultation (P.4.59-63). Thus, significantly, where the two oracles meet and intersect is in the charismatic figure of Battos as the fated founder and king of Cyrene (οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον, P.4.6; πεπρωμένον βασιλέ', P.4.61-62).[24]

In like manner, the mythic narratives of Pythian 4 combine the other two odes' systems for the integration of native and foreign—their preferred means of converting *xenoi* into *philoi*. In Pythian 4, the theme of *xenia* figures prominently in the first movement of the myth, in the "divine clod of earth" (βώλακα δαιμονίαν, P.4.37) offered by Triton in the guise of Eurypylos to the Argonaut Euphamos as an improvised guest gift (ξείνια, 22; ξείνοις, 30; προτυχὸν ξένιον, 35). As Claude Calame has argued, the clod of Libyan earth enables the paradox of a "colonial myth of autochthony"—the land itself symbolically gifted by a native divinity to Greek strangers at a primordial time, but also native earth that must travel away by sea in order to return in the form of Greek settlers seventeen generations later.[25] This *xenia* exchange thus functions in the opposite direction from the royal *xenia* of Pythian 5, whereby the indwelling Greek citizens of Cyrene and their king "receive" (δέκονται, P.5.86) the foreign Antenoridai in periodic cult practice. Rather, the exchange of the "divine clod" here structurally plays the same role as the Libyan daughter of Antaios won in a bride race by the victor's ancestor Alexidamos in the last movement of Pythian 9, since, as in that narrative, what is native legitimately passes into the hands of the incoming Greek.[26]

But more than that: through Medea's prophecy Pindar so constructs the myth that this magical guest gift (and its subsequent washing up on Thera) necessitate the sexual union of native and foreign as part of the heredity of the fated founder Battos (P.4.50-54; cf. P.4.252-57). Thus Pindar again (as in the case of oracles) elaborately interweaves the themes of *xenia* and intermarriage, or, we might say, has them collaborate. And in this instance again these two themes meet and intersect in the inheritance of Battos, thereby endowing him as founder and king with every possible form of legitimacy. After all, the logic of the connection here is by no means pellucid. Why does the accidental landing of the divine clod on Thera necessitate the circuiting of Euphamos's race through Lemnian women?[27] This can only be a kind of sympathetic magic or like-to-like equation, whereby the sojourn of the "immortal seed" of Libya on a foreign island requires that Euphamos's own "seed" pass through the "foreign fields" of the women of the island of Lemnos (who are nonetheless Greek). Whereas (according to Medea) if Euphamos had succeeded in getting the clod back to mainland Greece and tossing it into the "chthonic mouth of Hades" at Cape Tainaron, purebred Danaoi from the Peloponnese would have settled Libya in the fourth generation. So everything happens as if this act of miscegenation, which figures so prominently in the myth of Pythian 4, is a displacement of and alibi for the actual interbreeding of Greek settlers and native women in the process of the colonization of Cyrene.[28] As such, it conforms to the royal ideology of pure Greek descent even as it subsumes the motif of intermarriage or exogamy effectively within the bloodline of Battos.[29]

Third, Pythian 4 seems to take up where Pythian 5 left off, setting up Zeus as the divinity working through Apollo's Delphic oracle and ultimately legitimating the foundation of Cyrene and the hereditary Battiad kingship.[30] Emblematic in this regard is the poet's elaboration of the mention of Pytho as the site of Arkesilas's victory at the very beginning of the ode:

ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος
οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα
χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον καρποφόρου Λιβύας, (P.4.4-6)

Where once the priestess, sitter-beside of the golden eagles of Zeus, when Apollo happened to be in town, prophesied that Battos [would be] founder of fruit-bearing Libya . . .

Here the prominent mention of the "golden eagles of Zeus" in close juxtaposition to the presence of Apollo himself underscores the working of the high god through his son's oracular seat and sets up the intertwining of the two deities' powers throughout the poem.[31] Indeed, as Pietro Giannini has noted, the crash of Zeus's "propitious lightning" endorsing Euphamos's acceptance of the fateful clod (P.4.22-23) signifies Zeus's ultimate approval of the Greek possession of Libya under the auspices of Euphamos's descendants.[32] Within the longer second movement of the myth, Zeus dominates as the god who bestows their rightful authority on kings (P.4.106-8, 165-67), while the poem ends, remarkably, with Pindar likening Arkesilas pardoning Damophilos to Zeus himself, who "released the Titans" (P.4.289-91).

More pertinent, perhaps, for the relation of Pythian 4 to the opposed systems of Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 is the way in which Medea's prophecy maps out the sacred topography of Libya between shrines of Zeus and Apollo. The sorceress begins her prophetic discourse:

> φαμὶ γὰρ τᾶσδ' ἐξ ἁλιπλάκτου ποτὲ γᾶς 'Επάφοιο κόραν
> ἀστέων ῥίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι μελησιμβρότων
> Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις. (P.4.14-16)

> For I affirm that at some time from this sea-beaten land the daughter of Epaphos [Libya] will have planted in her the root of famous cities in the foundations of Zeus Ammon.

Medea's reference to the "foundations of Zeus Ammon" echoes and makes more precise Cheiron's prophecy in Pythian 9, which had located the site of Cyrene within the "exceptional garden of Zeus" (P.9.53). But when, with marked ring composition, Medea returns to this localization at the very end of her speech, the poet skillfully interweaves Apollo's Delphic oracle and Zeus's oracular shrine in North Africa:

> τὸν μὲν πολυχρύσῳ ποτ' ἐν δώματι
> Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν
> Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα χρόνῳ
> ὑστέρῳ, νάεσσι πολεῖς ἀγαγὲν Νείλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα.
> (P.4.53-56)

> Him [Battos], at some time in the future, in the house rich in gold, Phoibos will remind with his prophecies, when he [Battos] has entered the Pythian

> temple at a later time, to lead many men with ships to the rich precinct of the son of Kronos on the Nile.

Here the sweep of Cyrenaean territory through the connection with Zeus Ammon implicitly extends all the way to the Nile, aggrandizing even the territorial claims of Pythian 9.[33] But perhaps more significant is the amicable collaboration of oracular shrines suggested here: the fated founder is sent from Phoibos at Delphi to his father's "rich *temenos*" in Africa.[34]

Finally, what of the correlation of this sacred topography with the pattern in the two other odes: Pythian 9's emphasis on the *chōra* versus Pythian 5's on the urban landscape? Here again Pythian 4 seems to mediate between the two. Through the figure of the βῶλαξ, the "divine clod" or "imperishable seed" (ἄφθιτον . . . σπέρμα, P.4.42-43) gifted by the native divinity, the fertility of the entire Libyan land is proffered as a hereditary birthright to the descendants of Euphamos, while their own breeding doubles and proliferates the imagery of agricultural fertility throughout the ode.[35] At the same time, Pythian 4 integrates the *chōra* and the urban center, artfully interweaving the theme of agricultural fertility with the built landscape of the city. Thus consider the lines that open Medea's prophecy, cited above: "For I affirm that at some time from this sea-beaten land the daughter of Epaphos [Libya] will have planted in her the root of famous cities in the foundations of Zeus Ammon" (P.4.14-16). For Libya to "have planted in her the root of cities" (ἀστέων ῥίζαν φυτεύσεσθαι) significantly echoes the *kephalaion* of the myth that opens Pythian 9:

> ἔνεικέ τε χρυσέῳ παρθένον ἀγροτέραν
> δίφρῳ, τόθι νιν πολυμήλου
> καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας θῆκε δέσποιναν χθονός
> ῥίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν εὐήρατον θάλλοισαν οἰκεῖν. (P.9.6-8)

> And he conveyed the wild maiden in a golden chariot, to where he established her as mistress of a land rich in flocks and most rich in fruit, flourishing to inhabit the third lovely root [of the earth, consisting of] the mainland.

In Pythian 4 we have the same language of agricultural fertility, but the "third lovely root [of the earth, consisting of] the mainland" has become the "root of cities," thus simultaneously echoing the opening praise of Arkesilas from Pythian 5, "you are king of great cities" (βασιλεύς | ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων, P.5.15-16).[36]

This happy conjuncture of agricultural *chōra* and urban center, both flourishing under divinely appointed Battiad rule, finds its climactic expression at the moment Pindar transitions from the Argonaut myth to the present celebration toward the end of Pythian 4:

> καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς
> σπέρμ' ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου δέξατο μοιρίδιον
> ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες· τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφάμου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεί
> τέλλετο· καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μιχθέντες ἀνδρῶν
> ἤθεσιν ἔν ποτε Καλλίσταν ἀπῴκησαν χρόνῳ
> νᾶσον· ἔνθεν δ' ὔμμι Λατοίδας ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίον
> σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς ὀφέλλειν, ἄστυ χρυσοθρόνου
> διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας
> ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις. (P.4.254-62)[37]

> And in foreign fields on that occasion, a fated day or nights received the seed of your (pl.) beam of prosperity. For the race of Euphamos, planted there, was brought to fulfillment/arose forever for the rest of time. And having been mixed with the customs/haunts of Lakedaimonian men, in time they settled on the island once [called] Kalliste. And from there the son of Leto has given to you and your family the plain of Libya to increase together with honors from the gods, [and] the divine city of gold-throned Cyrene to rule for you who have found straight-counseling sagacity.

The last lines here carefully balance *chōra* and city, affirming the god-given power of the Battiad kings to fructify the former (ὀφέλλειν) and rule over the latter with just counsel (διανέμειν . . . ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις). But it is worth tracing in detail the imagistic buildup and complex linguistic polysemy that endow these final lines with such triumphant power. Note that lines 254–57 rehearse yet again the fateful stages of Cyrenaean colonization led by Battos (Euphamids–Lemnos–Sparta–Thera–Cyrene; cf. P.5.69-81, P.4.51-56), while they offer a dense crescendo for the pervasive agricultural imagery signifying the breeding of the race of Euphamos.[38] This imagistic fertility of the line of Battos and Arkesilas then blends inexorably with the literal fertility of the Libyan plain, conferred on the Battiad kings as the gift of Apollo "together with honors from the gods."[39] The phrase σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς is particularly significant here, for it echoes several other passages in Pythian 4 where τιμά or τιμαί denote the god-given "honor" of kingship (cf. P.4.51, 69, 108, 148).

Thus if the closing prayer of Pythian 5 evokes the Hesiodic model that kings are “from Zeus,” as we have suggested, this passage of Pythian 4 seems to conjure the Homeric paradigm of the fertilizing influence of the rightful king on his territory, implied in Odysseus’s simile to Penelope in *Odyssey* 19 (*Od.* 19.108-14) and perhaps also on the shield of Achilleus in *Iliad* 18 (*Il.* 18.550-60).

But we may be able to go one step further in reading the conjunction of ὄλβος, σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς, and ὀφέλλειν in the particular context of Cyrene. Ὀφέλλειν is a very rare verb outside of early hexameter and occurs only here in Pindar.[40] It is tempting to suggest that Pindar uses the verb here to pun on the name of the local divinity Ὠφέλης, whose shrine, going back to the earliest days of the colony in the late seventh century BCE, Italian archaeologists have identified on the east side of Cyrene’s agora, intimately associated with the tomb of the oikist Battos (fig. 5.6).[41] Ὠφέλης is a very obscure figure in Greek religion, apparently a *daimōn* who was a giver of wealth and medical healing, in some cases closely associated with Asklepios.[42] In Cyrene itself, Serenella Ensoli has suggested, Opheles was identified with Aristaios, the agricultural *daimōn* born from the union of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene.[43] Aristaios is perhaps best known as the discoverer of honey, but a scholiast to Aristophanes informs us that he discovered silphium as well.[44] If we may associate this latter discovery also with the local *daimōn* Opheles (as an allomorph of Aristaios), then the close connection between the shrine of Opheles and the tomb of Battos on the east side of the Cyrenaean agora is extremely suggestive. The Battiad kings seem to have enjoyed a monopoly in silphium, which the native Libyans rendered to them as a tribute or tax (figs. 6.1, 6.2).[45] A reference to this precious plant in Aristophanes’s *Wealth* (“the silphium of Battos,” τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον, 925) suggests that it was in the Classical era a byword for the very quintessence of prosperity; certainly it was an important source of the ὄλβος of the Battiad kings. The same close conjunction of Battiad kingship, its agricultural “honors” or prerogatives, and the *daimōn* Opheles that we see mapped in the topography of the east side of the Cyrenaean agora seems to play allusively through Pindar’s lines here. Thus the “seed of the beam of [Battiad] ὄλβος,” planted in Lemnos, comes eventually to Libya, where it “quickens” the Libyan plain (with silphium?) as part of the “honors” bestowed by the gods on the ruling house.

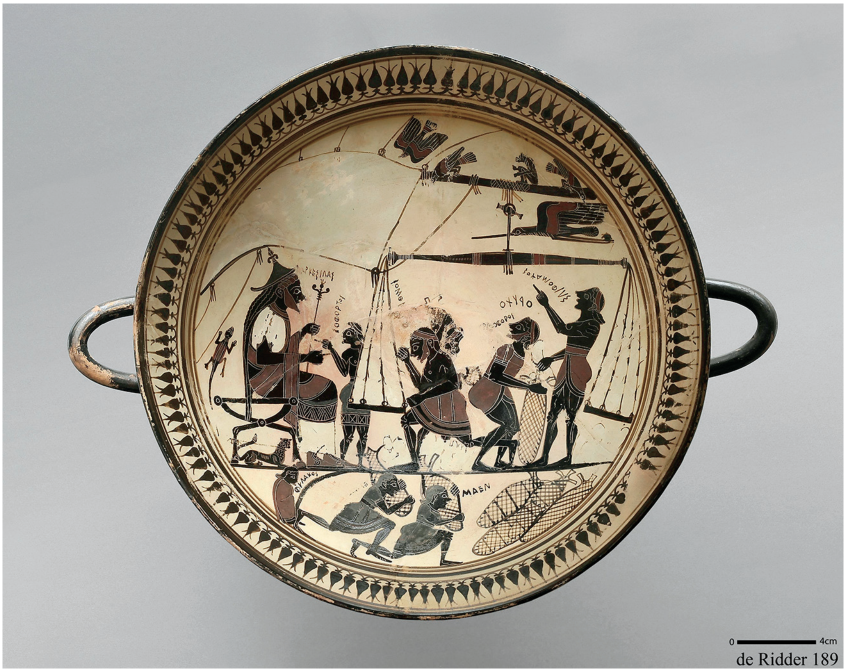


Fig. 6.1. Laconian black-figure cup: Arkesilas supervising the weighing of silphium (?). Clay, mid-sixth century BCE. Paris, Cabinet des médailles, inv. 189. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, used by kind permission.

Echoes and Intertextual Mapping

It may be objected that such a set of complex oppositions among these three poems could not have been detectable to ancient audiences, who heard each one performed live by a chorus, with a gap of a dozen years between the performance of Pythian 9 and those of Pythians 5 and 4 (the latter two performed for the same victory, on the same day, or perhaps on successive days). It has, however, become increasingly clear that Pindar's epinikia enjoyed robust afterlives in private (and perhaps public) reperformance and just possibly in textual circulation as well.[46] There is every likelihood that Pythian 9 would have had frequent reperformance in Cyrene and so have been familiar to local audiences. Even in the absence of such reperformance, however, the very diction of the poems clearly delineates a contest of royal and aristocratic ideologies. The three odes contain a sequence of competitive intertextual echoes whereby the poet uses and reuses specific words in

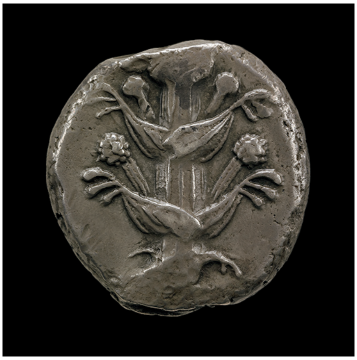


Fig. 6.2. Coin of Cyrene (reverse): siphium. Silver, ca. 485-430 BCE. For the obverse, see fig. 5.11. London, British Museum (E. S. G. Robinson 1927: 42 no. 10). Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

order to underscore thematic and ideological oppositions between the songs. The pattern is pervasive, going well beyond common Pindaric diction, and can hardly be accidental: the three poems share a large number of unusual words and collocations that combine meaningfully at moments of significant contrast in theme or emphasis. We have already noted two such moments: first, the collocation of phrases for "hand-to-hand" linking the winning of the Libyan bride in Pythian 9 with the exchange of the clod of earth as a numinous guest gift in Pythian 4; second, the way in which the phrase "root of cities" in Pythian 4 echoes the fertile "root [of the earth, consisting of] the mainland" in Pythian 9, while integrating urban centers into that agricultural imagery. The further examples offered here will not be exhaustive; we note only some of the most striking and significant of these contestatory verbal echoes.

In Pythian 5, the verbal transfers start to appear only toward the end of the second triad, almost halfway through the poem. The poet has already established his theme with lavish praise for Arkesilas, announcing the king's victory at the end of the first antistrophe. Then, at line 45, he changes tack to mention the charioteer, one Karrhotos: in a terrible race in which forty chariots shattered, he emerged unscathed by driving "with fearless mind" (ἀταρβεῖ φρενί, P.5.51).[47] As a charioteer, Karrhotos is already a bit like the nymph Cyrene, whom Pindar has notably described as such at the very opening of Pythian 9 ("horse-driving Cyrene," διωξίππου . . . Κυράνας, P.9.4). The phrase "fearless mind" cements the connection, for it echoes Apollo's description of the nymph later in the same poem: as Cyrene wrestles a lion with her bare hands, the god summons Cheiron to marvel at how she fights "with fearless head" (ἀταρβεῖ . . . κεφαλᾷ, P.9.31). The repeated word is ἀταρβής, "fearless," a highly unusual term that in all of Pindar occurs only in these two passages. In effect, the charioteer of Pythian 5 appropriates the characteristic fearlessness of "horse-driving Cyrene." Pindar is mining his earlier ode for language that he can conspicuously recast in this new, Battiad setting.

Next, as the poet describes how Battos "bore back a tongue from over the sea" to frighten lions in Libya by the will of Apollo *Archagetas* (γλῶσσαν . . . ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν, P.5.59), his diction closely echoes Cheiron's prophecy that Apollo will "bear [Cyrene] over the sea" (ὑπὲρ πόντου . . . ἐνεῖκαι, P.9.52-53) to establish her as ἀρχέπολις. Here, as many scholars have noted, the founder Battos displaces the mythical Cyrene in his power to defeat lions, and Pindar's careful verbal repetitions underscore this transfer or substitution.[48]

Several more of these echoes cluster at the end of Pythian 5, in the closing movements of the poet's elaborate praise of Arkesilas and prayers for his future success. To note only the most striking: after emphasizing the king's skill as a charioteer and his boldness in undertaking all the local competitions, the poet asserts that "now the god gladly accomplishes his power" (θεός τέ οἱ τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν, P.5.117). This line packs in two allusions. First, the word πρόφρων, "gladly," echoes and trumps Cheiron's description at Pythian 9.56–56a of mistress Libya "gladly receiving the nymph [Cyrene] in her golden houses" (δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσέοις | πρόφρων). Admittedly, πρόφρων occurs several times in Pindar to denote the special favor of a divinity, so this echo by itself may not seem particularly significant.[49] More striking is the suggestion that the god has accomplished his "power," δύνασιν. Appearing here at the end of the poem, this word recalls the "god-given power" (θεόσδοτον δύναμιν, P.5.13) that Pindar has already mentioned in a gnome in the opening section. Now, however, the poet makes that abstract, gnomic power physical and concrete by applying it directly to Arkesilas.[50] The resulting ring composition frames the ode with mentions of the king's divinely endorsed power. This point has not escaped the notice of scholars.[51] What seems not to have been noticed, however, is Pindar's choice to use the rare (dialect?) form δύνασις here at the end of Pythian 5. This form turns out to be exceptional in Pindar, occurring only three times in all—in Pythians 4, 5, and 9.[52] That is to say, Pindar seems deliberately to have chosen this alternative form of the more common δύναμις to link together the three Cyrenaean odes, to flag, as it were, his game of intertextual echoes.

But it is not just the fact of the use of this marked term; its specific contexts of use within the three odes are also significant. In Pythian 9, the word occurs right at the beginning of Apollo's summons to Cheiron to emerge from his cave and "marvel at the spirit and great physical strength" (μεγάλαν δύνασιν, P.9.30) of Cyrene as she wrestles bare-handed with a lion. By carefully displacing this remarkable physical potency—designated by δύνασις—from the nymph Cyrene to the reigning Battiad king in Pythian 5, Pindar reenacts the transfer of lion-defeating power from Cyrene to Battos that we have just observed, while also merging Arkesilas with or superimposing him on the founder of his line in the latter poem. Again in Pythian 4, δύνασις occurs at a significant juncture to describe a heroic feat that requires uncanny physical prowess. In the poet's narrative, Jason has just succeeded in yoking the fire-breathing bulls and plowing the furrow as commanded by the Colchian king Aietes. At this point, the poet relays the king's amazed reaction:

ἴυξεν δ' ἀφωνήτῳ περ ἔμπας ἄχει
δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθείς. (P.4.237-38)

> Aietes cried out, though with inarticulate shout, in amazement at his physical power.

Recall that Pythians 5 and 4 were composed for the same victory and possibly performed on the same day or on subsequent days. By the sleight of hand of this verbal echo, Pindar causes Jason's (and Cyrene's) heroic δύνασις to accrue to the kingly power of Arkesilas in a supremely ideological equation of physical strength, athletic victory, and royal authority.[53]

Pythian 5: The Eye and the Territory

Finally, let us return to Pythian 5. This ode is generally recognized as the most topographically rich and detailed of all Pindar's epinikia.[54] If we ask why this is so, the scholarly answer has tended to be that the poem participated in a specific ritual within the city—for many scholars, the festival of the Karneia, so that in parts it even enacts the description of local topography that characterizes certain cult songs.[55] Indeed, for earlier generations of scholars the topographical cues embedded in Pythian 5 made it seem self-evident that it was performed as a processional song, or prosodion, starting from the king's palace (widely assumed to have been on the acropolis) or the precinct of Apollo in the west and proceeding east along the *Skurōta* to the agora and the tomb of Battos (figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.6).[56] The poem made much of topography because it was really about ritual.

More recent scholarship has challenged the notion of Pythian 5 as a processional hymn, while remaining no less focused on positivist questions of where the chorus stood or danced, and which precise monuments it might have indexed. Eveline Krummen, for instance, argues that all the important cult sites that the ode mentions were in the agora of Cyrene, and concludes that the poem must have been performed there as part of the Karneia fesitval.[57] Franco Ferrari, on the other hand, suggests that Pindar himself situates the performance venue "in the sweet garden of Aphrodite," that is, in the precinct of Apollo (P.5.24); he takes this line to preclude both processional delivery and performance at the Karneia.[58] The same evidence produces diametrically opposed interpretations.

The sheer depth of the disagreement suggests that the question itself might be misplaced. Rather than simply dismissing the processional theory, it might be worthwhile to consider what elements in the poem elicit such a reading—and to what purpose they do so. Why does Pythian 5 "feel" processional? This question addresses the spatial and relational cues *within the poem itself*, as opposed to any relation between the monuments physically present to the ode's original audience and the ones that Pindar conjures out of song.[59] It attaches more importance to the poet's own elaboration of a network of spatial relations than to the reconstruction of ritual praxis; in effect, it prefers connotation to denotation. A spate of recent work on spatial deixis in Pindar proves invaluable in addressing this topic, in particular Nancy Felson's concept of "vicarious transport" as a key element in Pindaric poetics.[60] And yet the two approaches are complementary: as we shall see, Pindar's evocation of space and movement surrounds and enfolds the vivid conjuring of community ritual that scholars like Krummen so thoroughly unpack.

The contrast with fr. 75 SM is stark. If, as argued in chapter 4, fr. 75 SM spatializes form and formalizes space, Pythian 5 *temporalizes space and spatializes time*. It does so by routing processional motifs, images of travel, and a linear genealogy through a poetic structure of repetition, cycling, and triads. As the same images and words crop up repeatedly, each new instance reads as a mimesis or reenactment of what has come before. This much is true, perhaps, of any Greek poem with a strophic or triadic structure.[61] In this case, however, the character of the images matters. That character is spatial, or, better, *spatializing*: the imagery presents a sequence of places in such a way as to establish clearly their relative positions—not necessarily according to some overall, synoptic map but locally, associatively, hodologically. Pindar lays out these interlinked places within a dense network of metaphors and associations, and then repeats them, or recapitulates them, in the poem's final sections. The effect of this recursive structure is to give those spatial relations a temporal or historical dimension; conversely, the temporal or historical relation of repetition maps onto the geography of the Greek world and, in particular, the topography of Cyrene.

Why should the poem do this? The miming of a processional song combined with the triadic structure of cyclical repetition infuses the topography of the city with temporal depth even as it weaves a dense network of relations between Cyrene and several key sites in Greece—Delphi, the Peloponnese, Sparta, and Thera (fig. 5.1). In effect, Pindar adds a fourth dimension to a three-dimensional landscape. This gesture is particularly suited to the colonial situation. Unlike, say, Pindar's hometown of Thebes, Cyrene was a relatively recent foundation that by and large lacked its own established, panhellenic mythology.[62] Thus Battos's foundation of Cyrene plays the role of epinikion's usual "myth" in this ode.[63] Put differently, the "myth" that fills the center of the poem is simply the mythologization or temporalization of Cyrenaean topography. The careful and repeated construction of links to the broader Greek world is no less essential to the constitution of Cyrene as a specifically Greek city.

So much is obvious and often noted.[64] Less obvious, however, is that Pythian 5 fuses or merges the layout of the city with the very body, or bodies, of its kings. Through repeated corporeal or sensible imagery, the *olbos* of the Battiad kings becomes a physical feature of the landscape, rooted in Cyrene and inseparable from the fabric of the city itself.

ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ
βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
πολύφιλον ἑπέταν.
ὦ θεόμορ' Ἀρκεσίλα,
σύ τοί νιν κλυτᾶς
αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο

σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ μετανίσεαι
ἕκατι χρυσαρμάτου Κάστορος·
εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.

σοφοὶ δέ τοι κάλλιον
φέροντι καὶ τὰν θεόσδοτον δύναμιν.
σὲ δ’ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκᾳ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται·
τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεύς
ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων,
ἐπεὶ συγγενής
ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας
τεᾷ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί·
μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὅτι
εὖχος ἤδη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἑλών
δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων,
Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα· (P.5.1–23)

> Wealth is broad in strength, whenever any mortal man leads it forth, compounded with pure excellence, when fate has granted it, as an attendant that has many friends. O god-fated Arkesilas, you to be sure seek after it from the earliest beginnings [lit., from the highest steps] of your glorious life together with reputation thanks to Kastor of the golden chariot, who sheds down upon your blessed hearth good weather after winter rain. And to be sure, the wise bear more nobly also the power that is god-given. And you as you go in justice much blessedness/prosperity surrounds—in the first place, because you are king of great cities, since this most reverend privilege mixed with your mind [is] a hereditary glory. Second, you are blessed also now because, already having won the boast from the glorious Pythian games with horses, you have just now received the *kōmos* of men, in which Apollo delights.

The very first words of the poem announce space as a key image or theme: ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, “wealth is broad in strength.” Εὐρυ- designates broad lateral extension, but extension that is as yet undefined and unbounded. Then we get a whole cluster of images of progressing or walking: ἀνάγῃ (“leads it forth,” 3), ἑπέταν (“attendant,” 4), μετανίσεαι (“you seek after it,” 8), ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκᾳ (“going in justice,” 14). All these terms focus on the body of the king metaphorically moving through space, since Arkesilas is named at line 5. In addition, line 7, αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο, marks space as a figure for time; "from your earliest beginnings" is literally "from the highest steps of your life." This abundance of spatial imagery serves the conventional theme of "the journey of [Arkesilas's] life," but does so in an undefined or amorphous space until we get to τεάν . . . ἑστίαν in lines 10–11 (ἑστίαν the emphatic last word of the first strophe). Here suddenly we are at the king's hearth, but then lines 12–14 locate us again in a very undefined, generic space where the king "goes in justice" surrounded by a nimbus of πολὺς ὄλβος. This undefined metaphorical space is concretized again only by the mention of "great cities" in lines 16. There is a kind of vertiginous shifting of scale from the individual (ἑστίαν) to the vast (μεγαλᾶν πολίων), and this movement itself calques the mysterious phrase συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός, "hereditary eye" or "glory" (17–18).

It is important to insist that lines 17–19 constitute a bizarrely opaque or too abstract phrase even for Pindar; hence modern commentators' frustration with them.[65] This opacity may be deliberate: the whole phrase, but especially συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός, functions as a kind of riddle that the poem as a whole has to solve or clarify. The solution, such as it is, emerges when Pindar refers to the specific space of Cyrene and the Cyrenaica. These dense and difficult lines address what it means to be a hereditary "king of great cities." In terms of space, they offer us the sensing and sensible body of the king (his "eye") fusing with a vast space—from his own "hearth" to "great cities" far-flung throughout the Cyrenaica. In terms of time, the remarkable phrase "hereditary eye" encodes what the poem itself in performance will conjure up for the king and the whole Cyrenaean audience: an ancestral or temporally deep way of seeing through its obsessive temporalization of space mapped onto the topography of Cyrene.[66]

One might compare the result to Aristagoras's (imaginary) map, as discussed in chapter 1. The pinax was, among other things, a way to visualize travel time, to correlate the third and fourth dimensions by graphic means. The συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός works to somewhat similar effect, providing a temporal dimension to the monarchical glance that takes in everything from the local hearth to the cities and *chōra* of the Cyrenaica. The difference is that Pindar articulates the *chōra* with a specifically genealogical temporality. What unifies the whole, by means of the prefix *sun-*, is γενεά, a family lineage extending back seven generations with all the directness of the Cyrenaean *Skurōta*. In the colonial setting, where Greek origins are always ultimately *elsewhere*, the past really is another country, but the king's eye takes it in, and his bloodline connects it to the present.

Even so, no specific named location grounds the spatializing imagery of the first twenty lines until the mention of the Pythian games in line 21; then, through the motif of the reception of the *kōmos*, we move to Cyrene itself at line 24, where the king is finally located in a specific place, "the sweet garden of Aphrodite."[67] Such vagueness about place and subject in the first twenty lines of the ode is highly unusual relative both to the other two Cyrenaean odes and to epinikion in general. As to the former, Pythian 4 and Pythian 9 frontload place and myth, contriving to mention Cyrene, Pytho, the victor, and the event in the first four lines and to get to the myth by line 5.[68] As to the latter, epinikian odes tend to offer the name of a city, or the site of the games, or a local divinity at the very beginning to ground us in place, even if the naming of the victor can be deferred.[69] The exceptions are those odes that begin with elaborate conceits, priamels, or personified abstractions and thereby deliberately defer the epinikian "program" and create suspense.[70] Pythian 5 is closest to this last category, starting with the personification of wealth in its opening lines. Yet wealth as a personified abstraction yields place very quickly to Arkesilas, who figures twice over in the opening strophe and antistrophe as the specific example or illustration of a general gnomic statement.[71] It might, therefore, be better to say that the poem's opening "conceit" or "image" is the king himself, moving through an undefined metaphorical space in radiant splendor. The result is, as usual, a kind of suspense, which pertains in this case specifically to the question of place: where are we?

The work of the poem will be to ground Arkesilas, haloed by his nimbus of *olbos*, both within the real space of Cyrene and within a far-flung network of cities and places.[72] Let us first consider the latter: the complex series of journeys that crisscross the Mediterranean as they are tracked or narrated within the ode. Such peregrinations are more conventional within epinikion, even if Pythian 5 multiplies them. Indeed, Pythian 5 represents an extreme version of poetic spatialization whereby all of the poem's structural transitions are articulated or finessed by narrated or described movement in real space. It is perhaps this dynamic construction, as much as the specifics of Cyrenaean topography, that conjures for many readers the impression that Pythian 5 must be a processional ode.

As noted earlier, the opening images of Arkesilas's "journey of life" are grounded in a specific location in the "garden of Aphrodite" in line 24, while lines 20–23 enact the conventional epinikian motif of "receiving the *kōmos*," with the king welcoming Karrhotos and his festive "*kōmos* of men" back from the site of the games to Cyrene.[73] Here, strikingly, Pindar describes the triumphant return from Delphi to Cyrene not once but twice. First, we are told that Karrhotos "did not lead Excuse, daughter of late-minded Epimetheus, when he came to the houses of the Battidai ruling by right" (27–29). Where we might expect the mention of Battidai to lead into the story of Battos and the foundation of Cyrene, Pindar defers this, lingering at Delphi to commemorate Karrhotos's significant achievement and dedication, and thereby to erect "a memorial consisting of the finest words" for him there (32–51).[74] For this reason, after his extended "sojourn" at Delphi, the poet must repeat Karrhotos's trajectory in lines 52–53: "You have come now to the plain of Libya and to your ancestral city from radiant contests."

Finally, after a brief interlude, Pindar introduces the "myth" of Battos and the foundation of Cyrene at line 57, which will extend to line 95, concluding in the current cult worship of Battos as oikist in the agora. This "myth" contains within it other journeys: that of the Aigeidai from Sparta to Thera (72–76); that of the Antenoridai from Troy to North Africa (82–85); and, climactically, that of Battos/Aristoteles from Thera to Cyrene (87–93).[75] At line 96, Pindar shifts to another epinikian topos: the participation of the ancestors in the victor's achievement.[76] Once again a shift in location marks this shift in topic: "But apart before the houses are the other holy kings who have been allotted Hades" (96–98). Debate has raged since the time of the scholia about the precise location Pindar specifies through the phrase πρὸ δωμάτων.[77] The larger point, however, is that this phrase effects a movement away from the agora to another locale in or around Cyrene. Finally, the last section of the poem returns to praise of Arkesilas. Here, as in the opening lines, we are in a fairly undifferentiated space until we get to another epinikian topos—the closing prayer for the victor's future success and well-being. As often for this final movement of the ode, Pindar's language evokes the image of sailing (120–23), but here the poem's final line makes the image more concrete and directional.[78] The asyndetic prayer for victory for the "race of Battos" at Olympia (124) makes this voyage into a return to mainland Greece, to the site of the great panhellenic games.

These geographic shifts spatialize the ode's structure and its temporal progression. Even more striking, however, is the way that images of bodies and movement construct a set of relations in space. The fairly abstract language of the poem's opening movement gradually becomes more concrete, as the poet repeats clusters of words and images and grounds them in urban topography. A good example is the brief transition to the poem’s “myth” of Battos:

> πόνων δ’ οὔ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὔτ’ ἔσεται·
> ὁ Βάττου δ’ ἕπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,
> πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον
> ξένοισι. κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι
> λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον,
> γλῶσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν· (P.5.54-59)
>
> No one is without a share of toils, nor [ever] will be. But the ancient blessedness/prosperity of Battos attends/continues, although it allots good and bad [lit., these things and those], a tower of the city and eye most radiant for strangers. That man [Battos] at any rate even deep-roaring lions fled, encompassed by fear, when he bore back for them a tongue from over the sea.

Here the word ὄλβος (“blessedness/prosperity”), coupled with ἕπεται (“attends/continues”), echoes the opening imagery used for Arkesilas (ὄλβος, 14; ἑπέταν, 4) even as ὄμμα . . . φαεννότατον (“eye most radiant”) picks up and resumes the συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός (“hereditary eye”) of the first antistrophe. Now, however, the image has become concrete even as it has acquired temporal depth, for the “ancient *olbos* of Battos” is said to be a πύργος ἄστεος, “an urban tower.” We are to imagine this enduring *olbos* as an element of the city’s fortifications—even as it is, at the same time, an “eye most radiant” that shines from afar at or on behalf of visitors. It is at once heavy as stone and light as a glance.

The image, specifically φαεννότατον (“most radiant,” 56) and the dative ξένοισι (“at/for strangers,” 57), suggests the viewpoint of one approaching Cyrene from elsewhere, perhaps from the north, where the city on a hill does indeed make an impression (cf. the “shimmering breast” of the hill at P.4.8). In evoking such a vista, the poem specifies no particular coordinate point, but rather proposes a relation in space: we are outside the city, on the approach, struck by the light of its towers. Another, similarly “relational” image follows immediately. Battos, we are told, “bore back a tongue from over the sea.” Instead of light radiating out from Cyrene at the traveler, now the traveler brings words, sounds, back from elsewhere. The term ὑπερποντίαν, “overseas,” locates us decisively in North Africa, “looking out,” as it were, at the Greek world to the north.[79] The speech Battos utters is no less impressive than the bright tower of Cyrene: it frightens the local fauna—lions who, by virtue of being on the receiving end of this transmission from abroad, are structural equivalents to the bedazzled foreigners of line 57. Again, Pindar's brief is not to identify specific points, as on a map, but to establish relations: "over here" versus "over there," "inside" versus "outside," "transmitter" versus "receiver."

These images of shining city and fearsome speech, however vague they may be, are nonetheless more concrete than the wholly general, even abstract tropes that precede them: life is a journey, wealth has broad strength. This concreteness is only partly a matter of greater topographical specificity: it is also a matter of the body and the senses. The brightness of Battiad prosperity is an "eye," the "overseas" speech of the founder a "tongue." By these figures, Pindar casts vision and hearing, eye and tongue, as part of the same system of relations that extends from the citadel of Cyrene to foreign lands, from the first step of life to the present day and beyond. Indeed, the relational terminology takes the body as its basic point of reference: that is what makes these images more concrete than those of the first strophe. It is perhaps no surprise that the body should have such prominence in a poem that is intended for choral performance: the measured speech and tread of the chorus is integral to the audiovisual spectacle of a Pindaric ode.

It matters, however, that the bodies in question—the ones that Pindar's imagery conjures—are those of the present king Arkesilas and the founder-king Battos. For these images, connected with Battos in the second epode, are then repeated and further concretized in the third, the climax of the foundation narrative:[80]

> τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσὶ θοαῖς
> ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.
> κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν,
> εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις
> ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
> ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
> σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών. (P.5.87–93)

> Those men Aristoteles led with swift ships, opening a deep path across the sea. And he built greater precincts of the gods and—for the processions of Apollo that protect mortals—he established a straight-cut, level, paved road for the clatter of horses' hoofs, where at the edge of the agora he rests apart in death.

Thus the imagery of motion in ἕπεται (55) becomes the "path across the sea" that Aristoteles "opens" from Thera to Cyrene (ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων, 88), which in turn morphs into the σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, the processional way of the city, resounding with horses' hoofs (90–93) (figs. 5.2, 5.5). To complete this movement, which makes the "way" of Battos's ships and the *Skurōta* into one continuous avenue linking Thera and Cyrene, the brilliantly evocative phrase πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς conjures the image of the Battiad ship finally run aground "at the poop of the agora" (in Nicholson's rendering).[81] At the same time, the markedly locational πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι enables Battos's literal voyage to fuse or merge with the metaphorical journey of Arkesilas's life initiated in the opening triad, as it picks up and completes the spatial imagery of αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο (7).[82] In like manner, the "ancient *olbos* of Battos," represented figuratively as a "tower of the city" (πύργος ἄστεος, 56) in the second epode, finds its complement in the literal building activities of Aristoteles as oikist in the third: "he built greater precincts of the gods (κτίσεν, 89) and he laid down the straight-cut, level, paved road" (κατέθηκεν, 90). Which is to say, it finds its complement in the establishment of Cyrene's spatial system: its *ceinture sacrée*, its zoning of Greek and Libyan, town and *chōra*, Apollo, Zeus Ammon, and the chthonic goddesses. By the logic of this poem, blessedness is, somehow, *a landmark*.

Finally, this entire cluster of words and images effloresces one last time in the praise of Arkesilas that closes the poem. The repetition of ὄλβος in line 102 signals a return to the themes of lines 14–20 and 55–59, and a little later we get a whole set of echoes to establish the connections:

ἄνδρα κεῖνον ἐπαινέοντι συνετοί·
λεγόμενον ἐρέω·
κρέσσονα μὲν ἁλικίας
νόον φέρβεται
γλῶσσάν τε· θάρσος δὲ τανύπτερος
ἐν ὄρνιξιν αἰετὸς ἔπλετο·
ἀγωνίας δ', ἕρκος οἷον, σθένος·
ἔν τε Μοίσαισι ποτανὸς ἀπὸ ματρὸς φίλας,
πέφανταί θ' ἁρματηλάτας σοφός·
ὅσαι τ' εἰσὶν ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι,
τετόλμακε. (P.5.107-17)

The wise praise that man; I will say what is said. On the one hand, he nurtures a mind superior to his youth and a tongue; on the other hand, in bold-

> ness he is a long-winged eagle among birds, and his strength in competition [is] like a wall. And he has been winged among the Muses from his dear mother [from infancy?], and he has shown himself to be a skilled charioteer. And however many entrances [there are] to local noble achievements, he has dared them.

If the poem thus far has been a calque on συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός, "hereditary eye," conjuring for the patron, Arkesilas, and the entire audience a temporally deep way of seeing or perception of the topography of Cyrene, this last section returns to and expounds the significance of another part of the opaque phrasing of lines 17–19, γέρας | τεᾷ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί (18–19). What does it mean that the "honor" of kingship is "compounded" or "mixed" with Arkesilas's personal qualities of mind and spirit? This final praise focuses on those personal qualities even as it makes them more bodily and concrete, thereby attaching the "ancient *olbos* of Battos" to the sensible body of the current king. Thus φρενί (19) is picked up by νόον (110) as the first characteristic singled out for praise, while γλῶσσαν (111) echoes Battos's "tongue from over the sea" at line 59. In the praise of Arkesilas's boldness in competition, the figurative ἕρκος recalls Battos's *olbos* as a "tower of the city," πύργος ἄστεος (56), while the quality it figures, σθένος, sends us back to the opening words of the poem—ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής. ἔσοδοι picks up κέλευθον (88) and especially σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν (93), so that again (as in the opening triad) the imagery of moving and going is prominent.

At the same time, there is a shift from the opening imagery of motion for Arkesilas: there it was all about walking, whereas here the king drives a chariot and soars aloft as an eagle. Given the density of other terms and images repeated, it is tempting to take the eagle metaphor as resuming the image of ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα: here the "eye of the king" has become synoptic, surveying unbounded territory from a great height. Again, the analogy of the Herodotean map presents itself: Pindar evokes a bird's-eye view, and yet that all-encompassing, masterful glance is no more disembodied, incorporeal, or theoretical than Aristagoras's representation of Asia on his pinax. It is, on the contrary, yet another instance of Pindar's distinctive mode of "four-dimensional" navigation. As in the visual representation of itinerant distance, the eye sees through space *and* time.

In the end, the bodies of the Battiad kings, living and dead, doubly enframe the part of the poem that has drawn the most scholarly attention:

the section that mimes the Karneia festival and draws the whole community into participation. The inner ring comprises the "houses" of the kings. At lines 28–29 Karrhotos "has come to the houses of the Battidai ruling in right" (Βαττιδᾶν . . . δόμους θεμισκρεόντων); at lines 97–98, "apart before the houses (ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων) are the other holy kings who have been allotted Hades." These dead kings, Pindar assures us, also have sentience and sense: "they hear somehow with chthonic mind" (ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί), through libations of *kōmoi* perceiving their ongoing *olbos* and Arkesilas's grace of victory shared with them. Framing this inner ring, in turn, are the praises of Arkesilas himself in the first and last triads. These lines initially set the king's body, with its "hereditary eye," in motion in an indeterminate space; then, at the end, they send him soaring aloft as an eagle, overseeing the Cyrenaica from a vast height. The dead kings listen in their houses underground; the living one looks and soars above. Thus the moving and sentient bodies of the kings infuse or interpenetrate the topography of the polis, as their ancient *olbos* (initially a nimbus surrounding Arkesilas) coalesces in the town and its monuments.

This startling effect of the interpenetration of space and landscape by the hereditary *olbos* of the Battiad kings is picked up and reinforced by a passage in Pythian 4 that we have already had cause to consider—the poem's transition from the myth of the Argonauts back to the present occasion:

> And in foreign fields on that occasion, a fated day or nights received the seed of your (pl.) beam of prosperity. For the race of Euphamos, planted there, was brought to fulfillment/arose forever for the rest of time. And having been mixed with the customs/haunts of Lakedaimonian men, in time they settled on the island once [called] Kalliste. And from there, the son of Leto has given to you and your family the plain of Libya to increase together with honors from the gods, and the divine city of gold-throned Cyrene to rule for you who have found straight-counseling sagacity.

We have already noted how this passage draws together city and *chōra* (the separate concerns, respectively, of Pythian 5 and Pythian 9) under the god-given sway of Battiad rule. Here we want to focus simply on the bizarre opening images of these lines:

καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς
σπέρμ' ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου δέξατο μοιρίδιον

> ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες· τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφάμου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεί
> τέλλετο· (P.4.254-57)[83]

The phrase σπέρμ' . . . ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου, "the seed of your beam of prosperity," is as dense and vertiginously metaphorical as anything in Pindar. Σπέρμα signifies both agricultural "seed" and Euphamos's semen planted in the womb of a Lemnian woman, but more remarkable still is ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου.[84] ἀκτίς in Pindar always evokes a powerful beam of light, properly used to denote the beams of the sun or of flashing lightning.[85] Here, together with τέλλετο, ἀκτῖνος conjures the image of Battiad *olbos* as a sunrise that has come eventually to "fructify" or "quicken" the plain of Libya (ὀφέλλειν, 260).[86] Again, the subject is the special *olbos* of the Battiad kings, which in Pythian 5 is associated with the συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός of Arkesilas (17–18) and figured as an ὄμμα φαεννότατον shining out from the city of Cyrene (56). The image in Pythian 4 extends and completes this sequence, associating the family's *olbos* with the most panoptic and radiant "eye" of all—the sun itself—even as it "arises" from the physical body of their ancestor Euphamos. At the same time, the play of images in Pythian 4 adds even greater temporal depth to the "hereditary eye" of the Battiads, projecting it back seventeen generations to its heroic source.[87]

To return to Pythian 5: as the poem proceeds, general terms become specific, and abstractions become architectural and corporeal. Crucially, however, this process of concretization runs the other way in performance. The dancers and their audience are already in the thick of Cyrene; they move and sing and listen amidst the shrines of the gods, the towers of the city, the straight-cut road, the agora. This environment, presumably, requires no "concretization": it is concrete from the outset. A choral performance, likewise, cannot *become* corporeal, for it simply is an embodied performance by definition. These simple points must complicate any reading of the poem: in performance, *in situ*, the arc from generalities to particulars is actually a gradual assimilation of poetic discourse to the extant built environment. Discontinuous and disparate places, from the Cyclades to Cyrene, from the agora to the sundry sanctuaries and towers that demarcate the city, relate cogently in terms of the immaterial, yet somehow corporeal, blessedness of the Battiad bloodline. In short, *the concretization of metaphor is the abstraction of architecture*. That is what a "hereditary eye" is able to see, and what Pythian 5 conjures. For it is, in the end, the special efficacy of poetry—and, specifically, of "mythic" narrative articulated in and through the elaborate language of epinikion in performance—to effect this double transformation. The song provides a key to Cyrenaean space and helps its inhabitants to see their city aright: as a zone of Battiad blessings.

Like fr. 75 SM, this is about *kosmēsis*—but here that "ordering" is entirely circuited through the bodies and *olbos* of the Battiad kings. For Pythian 5 and Pythian 4, this is what imposes order on a disparate or discontinuous Cyrenaean landscape. Thus the king is slotted into the same place (structurally) as the *asteos omphalos* of fr. 75, but unlike the "navel of the city" rooted in the earth, the "hereditary eye" of the king hovers above in an indeterminate space, taking in the whole territory of the Cyrenaica with his eagle-like panoptic gaze.

In closing, let us return to the double dialectic of poems and monuments with which we began our discussion of the Cyrenaean odes. The different emphases in the foundation myths Pindar narrates in Pythian 9 and Pythian 5, two different odes composed for two different victors twelve years apart, helped us see ideology mapped on the ground in the layout and urban topography of Cyrene. These two odes guided our "reading" of the *Skurōta* as a central artery, notionally linking the new foundation of Cyrene to its mother-city Thera; they exposed the tensions and oppositions of aristocracy and monarchy inscribed in the two sides of the Cyrenaean agora; they illuminated the Cyrenaeans' construction of Greekness and their relation to native populations through the two counterpoised sanctuaries, intramural and extramural, of two ram gods, Apollo Karneios and Zeus Ammon; and they helped to reveal a pattern to Cyrenaean dedications both at home and abroad. Our emphasis throughout has been on how the built environment enabled the Cyrenaeans to manage and mediate these various oppositions and identities so as to be able to "get on together"—to the extent that they did so until the ultimate collapse of the Battiad monarchy in the mid-fifth century.

Returning in this chapter to Pindar's odes with that material mapping of ideology has enabled a finer-grained analysis of the poet's art—his choices to highlight one or the other side of these complex, overlapping oppositions in Pythian 9 and Pythian 5 (for a Cyrenaean aristocrat and for the king, respectively), as well as his efforts to reconcile these oppositions for the unique commission represented by Pythian 4. Finally, we ended this chapter with a full-scale reading of Pythian 5 for its complex construction of a phenomenology of space, this time attending more to the poem's spatial and sensible imagery than to the literal identification of real monuments named and embedded within it. Such a phenomenal, relational reading allowed us to see one final aspect of Pindar's topopoetic *sophia*—the projection or superimposition of the sensible body and eye of the king Arkesilas so that it seems to infuse the city and entire territory of Cyrene. Thus Pythian 5 temporalizes space and spatializes time in a way that is distinctive to Cyrene, itself enacting the process of teaching its audience to see their city and territory with a "hereditary eye" (συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός).

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Part III

Pindar's Greece: Olympian 6 and the Spaces of Tyranny

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Epigraphy, Architecture, Song

Olympian 6 and Other Gifts

The last two chapters argued that Pindar's Cyrene odes constructed a specifically Greco-Libyan *oikoumenē*. "Stacking" the poems like so many filters on a camera lens caused hitherto invisible patterns in the landscape to pop out: the siting of sanctuaries, the layout of smaller spaces like the agora, even the typology and style of sculptural dedications in sanctuaries, all became legible in terms of populations, genealogies, and institutions, with the "hereditary eye" of the king floating on high. The result was not just Pindar's gloss or "take" on Libya, or Cyrenaica, or Cyrene, but their constitution as potential objects of interpretation in the first place: a Pindaric schematization of sundry sites, stories, and buildings into a cogent territory for a diverse people.

Pythians 4, 5, and 9 range far and wide, but their focus (and our own) is always, ultimately, on Cyrene. Elsewhere, however, Pindar shifts emphasis away from his victor's home; poems of this sort provide an opportunity to consider his representation of larger, transregional spaces. Odes for the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse and his circle are especially handy in this regard. The Deinomenid tyrants—Hieron, along with his brother and predecessor Gelon—held sway over much of eastern Sicily and used athletic competition and costly dedications at Olympia and Delphi to maintain a high profile throughout the Greek world. Hieron, in particular, commissioned more victory odes than any other known individual (Pindar O.1, P.1, P.2, P.3; Bacchylides 3, 4, 5), and used them to represent the scope of his power and influence both in the West and at the panhellenic centers.[1] Additional epinikia commissioned by his lieutenants or henchmen (N.1, N.9, O.6) likewise subserved the tyrant's program of self-representation. As we shall see, this quasi-imperial ambition required a very different spatial poetics.

We will not, however, consider all the odes for Hieron in detail; doing so would take us well beyond our brief, even as recent work by Kathryn Morgan, Nigel Nicholson, and others has made such a survey redundant.[2] Instead we will use a single ode—Olympian 6, for Hagesias of Syracuse—

to stand *pars pro toto* for a much larger corpus. Our approach, as usual, will be to read this poem both with and against the sundry built environments that it evokes: in this case primarily the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, but also a wider itinerary around the Peloponnese and outward bound to Syracuse. Olympian 6 is particularly suited to such analysis because it is permeated with images of architecture, landscapes, roads, and journeys. The poem offers a summa or dreamlike condensation of Deinomenid space and the cultural/poetic resources available for figuring it—resources and techniques that we find represented piecemeal in panhellenic dedications and other victory odes for Hieron (e.g., O.1, Bacch. 3).

The present chapter, accordingly, offers an introduction to Deinomenid tyranny and an analysis of the dedications by the tyrants and their henchmen at the panhellenic centers.[3] After a survey of the Deinomenid dedications at Delphi and Olympia, we will look in detail at the ways in which their inscriptions manipulate epichoric scripts in such a way as simultaneously to assert regional difference and subordinate it to Deinomenid hegemony, a mode we call "epichoric irony." We then set these dedications and inscriptions alongside Olympian 6, with special reference to its opening image of a "well-columned porch." Building on the work of Margaret Foster, we argue that this image—in tandem with other architectural metaphors that run through the song—assimilates the poem to a votive gift while siting it firmly at Olympia. The poet's chief concern, however, is not the *anathēma* (whether real or imagined), or the shrine that houses it, but the *relations* between them and a larger array of places and itineraries. What holds those together—rather as the eye of Arkesilas could unify Libya—is nothing other than the power of the tyrant.

Chapter 8 continues the reading of Olympian 6, focusing on the second pervasive system of imagery scholars have identified in the ode—that of roads and journeying. Here we track Pindar's constitution of the space of the ode as hodological and link it to the distinctive sensorium of this poem (where voice is privileged over synoptic vision). Finally, we consider the merging of these two apparently disparate image systems (architecture and roads; specific place and journeying) through "technologies of transport" that link Pindar's poetic project to the sources and reach of Deinomenid power.

At issue in this "Deinomenid" space is precisely not "connectivity" or "networking." The latter terms have proved incredibly useful in recent scholarship, but they tend to presuppose determinate nodes—cities, regions, points of production and consumption—in order, of course, to study their linkages.[4] These distinctions, however, are precisely what we do not know in advance, precisely what (we claim) poetry *generates*. Put differently, what is "networked" here is not primarily Sicily and the Peloponnese, but the array of devices that Hieron has at his disposal: a proprietary platform of compatible gadgets and peripherals that includes songs, statues, buildings, poets, sculptors, dancers, athletes, mules, roadways, and a great deal more besides. This conception of a network is different from—but, we hope, complementary to—the more usual one deployed in archaeological network analysis.

One output of this technology is a mode of spatiality that it seems appropriate to call "warping." In this mode, both Pindar and Hieron effect an ongoing redefinition or recalibration of nearness and distance, of what counts as a boundary or a locality, so that the difference between, say, Sicily and the Peloponnese can sometimes seem vast, at other times negligible. Reference frames become part of the poet's plastic art: he can expand them or contract them at will, make Olympia and Syracuse seem far apart, adjacent, or even identical as the need arises. Instead of reading space, or glossing it, song can actively *constitute* it: it is a poet's brief to establish the integrity and cogency of particular sites, and the relations of distance and nearness between sites. The net effect is to create a properly Deinomenid *kosmos*. This imaginary world system is explicitly suprapolitical and transregional; its inhabitants take their bearings neither from a specific landmark (as in fr. 75 SM) nor from notional zones defined in terms of cult, faction, and populace (as in the Cyrene odes), but from the discursive, ambient, and omnipresent power of the tyrant. Space, that is, becomes itself *deterritorialized*, a thing of words and songs, endlessly malleable.[5]

Monuments and Epichoric Irony

A poem is not, perhaps, the most obvious resource for coming to grips with Greek spatial habits. Other media may seem more germane. For example, monumental dedications by their very nature articulate speech, architecture, space, and time. Inscribed with verse, erected in sanctuaries, conspicuous from afar, evocative of distant places and past obligations, their role in ordering the environment in four dimensions is at once literal and complex. The Deinomenidai and their henchmen were as extravagant with stone, bronze, and gold as they were with song and choral dance: a full list of their offerings at Delphi and Olympia comprises no fewer than twenty monuments, including several multifigure groups. In addition, the same individuals entered at least twelve major athletic contests between 488 and 468, and presumably funded sacrifices and other occasional, ritual activities (including, perhaps, the reperformance of epinikia).[6] Hagesias's song is part of this larger ensemble—after all, odes are offerings, too. Both Pindar and Bacchylides stress this point by making direct reference to Hieron's dedications, notably in Bacchylides's Third Ode, with its vivid description of the two golden tripods that Gelon and Hieron erected at Pytho.[7] The archaeological remains of these *anathēmata* provide a matchless archive of comparative material to set alongside Pindar's embodied and ambient poetics.

The tyrants themselves dedicated at least two, and perhaps as many as six, votive columns at Delphi; a treasury and probably a porch at Olympia; sundry weapons taken from barbarians; statues of Zeus and of Hieron; and three chariot groups.[8] In aggregate this expenditure is unparalleled for magnificence in the early Greek world, surpassing even the famous gifts of Croesus of Lydia in both quantity and distribution (a comparison that Bacchylides drew himself). Amongst the henchmen, meanwhile, there is literary or archaeological evidence for six dedications by five men: two by Phormis of Mainalos, and one each by Lykortas of Syracuse, Praxiteles of Syracuse, Astylos of Kroton, and Glaukos of Karystos.[9] It is notable that none of these men was Sicilian by birth. Astylos and Glaukos were famous athletes recruited for Syracuse by Deinomenid gold (the outraged Krotoniates responded by tearing down Astylos's statue in the city and turning his house into a prison).[10] Phormis, Lykortas, and Praxiteles were probably all Arkadian by birth; the first two were certainly mercenaries in Deinomenid service, and the third probably was as well.[11] There is, by contrast, no evidence for even a single Syracusan native making an offering or entering a competition at Delphi or Olympia for this entire period. One suspects that the Deinomenidai, like tyrants elsewhere, inhibited self-aggrandizing behavior on the part of local elites.

The odes belong in this company. Pindar wrote for three henchmen, two of whom were certainly migrants. Chromios son of Hagesidamos (N.1, N.9) moved from Gela to Syracuse to Aitna; Psaumis son of Akron (O.4, O.5) was yet another Arkadian mercenary.[12] The third man is, of course, Hagesias. Scholars continue to debate whether he was Syracusan by birth or by naturalization.[13] Pindar calls him a "co-founder" (συνοικιστήρ, O.6.6) of Syracuse, but it is unclear how to take this appellation. Hagesias was certainly one of the Iamidai, a clan of seers specially associated with Olympia. Michael Flower has argued, however, that the Iamidai may have been what Walter Burkert has called "migrant charismatic specialists," little more than mantic mercenaries who hired themselves out to perform auguries before combat.[14] If so, then συνοικιστήρ will have been either an ancestral title, an honorific, or an allusion to some recent, ceremonial refoundation of the town; not, at any rate, an indication of Syracusan birth. The mere fact that the question remains open is telling in itself: Olympian 6 stands out from the other odes for henchmen by virtue of its opacity on the matter of Hagesias's origins. It represents a thorny or problematic example, and is therefore particularly revealing of priorities and presuppositions in the articulation of geography, locality, and tyranny.

Uniting the material and poetic dedications is a consistent preoccupation with mobility and immigration, with Arkadia as an object of special attention.[15] These themes are central to Olympian 6, with its narrative of peregrinations around the Peloponnese and its evocation of travel to Syracuse. But they were also central to Deinomenid rule. As Kathryn Morgan observes, the tyrants were not just serial emigrés themselves, decamping from Gela to Syracuse (and even to Aitna) one after the other; they were also unusually willing to deport whole populations as the need arose.[16] Examples include Gelon's displacement of the population of Kamarina and the elite of Megara Hyblaia to Syracuse, and Hieron's deportation of the people of Katane and refoundation of the city as Dorian Aitna in 476/75 BCE, which involved population transfers with Leontini and Naxos.[17] Geography is always political, but in this case state policy involved a conscious manipulation of the relation between polis, people, and landscape.[18]

Put differently, Deinomenid rule emphasized populations and mobility over bounded territory. It was, in this regard, a version of what Michel Foucault called "pastoral" power, in that it was "exercised on a multiplicity rather than on a territory": "The shepherd's power is not exercised over a territory but, by definition, over a flock, and more exactly, over the flock in its movement from one place to another. The shepherd's power is essentially exercised over a multiplicity in movement."[19] Tellingly, for instance, Bacchylides does not praise Hieron for the extent of his territory but as "ruling over the greatest number of Hellenes" (πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων, Bacch. 3.12). Such power ignores ethnic and political boundaries and goes to work on *populations*, who can be moved about at will, herded here and there, mingled, segregated, augmented, and culled as the need arises.

Yet such power is, of course, exercised in three—indeed four—dimensions. Pastoral power cannot do without territory, but it defines the latter in terms of ambient populations, not as an immutable matrix. We need to know what happens to relations of locality and position—of proximity and distance, center and periphery, inside and out—under such conditions. How does such power govern or otherwise regulate movement in space? What happens to the Greek landscape when it becomes a function of sovereignty?

The dedications provide the beginnings of an answer to these questions. Their votive inscriptions make reference to Arkadian origins, but only as part of a broader Deinomenid tendency to subordinate, manipulate, and in some cases erase "epichoric" identity.[20] According to Pausanias, for instance, the text of Phormis's dedication at Olympia read Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν | Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος ("Phormis dedicated [this/me], an Arkadian of Mainalos, now of Syracuse," Paus. 5.27.2). The inscription thus contained two ethnics, the first immediately superseded by the second. *Phormis anethēken* is a complete dedicatory formula; the second line, opposing Arkadia and Syracuse, is superfluous, as it is not strictly necessary for Phormis to mention his Arkadian past if he is, truly, Syracusan.[21] But he goes out of his way to flag his old ethnic, which is to say, his mobility. If, as Eckstein and others have argued, the monument dates to the 470s, then it belongs securely within the Deinomenid era.[22]

The *anathēma* of Praxiteles, a long base supporting what must have been an impressive group of bronze statues, stood in the Altis not far from the Achaian monument discussed in chapter 2 (figs. 7.1, 7.2; see also figs. 2.32, 2.33). It follows the same pattern as Phormis's inscription, but at greater length:

Πραξιτέλες ἀνέθεκε Συρακόσιος τόδ’ ἄγαλμα
    καὶ Καμαριναῖος· πρόσθα ⟨δ⟩ὲ Μαντινέαι
Κρίνιος *h*υιὸς ἔναιεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι πολυμέλο
    *h*εσλὸς ἐόν, καί ϝοι μνᾶμα τόδ’ ἔστ’ ἀρετᾶς.

Praxiteles of Syracuse set up this object of delight
(also of Kamarina); before that in Mantinea
Krinis's son dwelt, in Arkadia rich in sheep
Being a man of worth; this is a commemoration of his excellence.

The opening line again could be a complete dedicatory formula in itself—this time in meter—and identifies Praxiteles unambiguously as Syracusan.

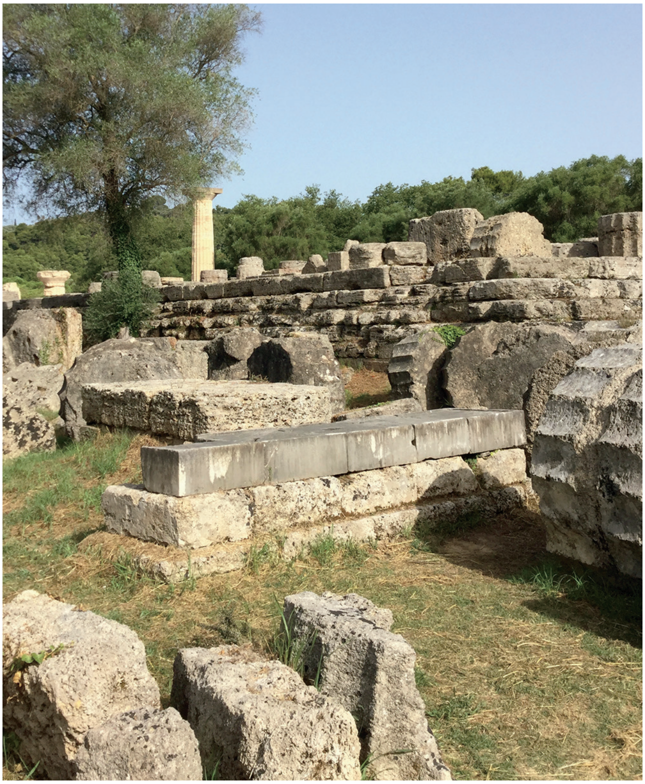


Fig. 7.1. Olympia: monument of Praxiteles (base). In the background is the temple of Zeus. Ca. 485–ca. 472 BCE. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

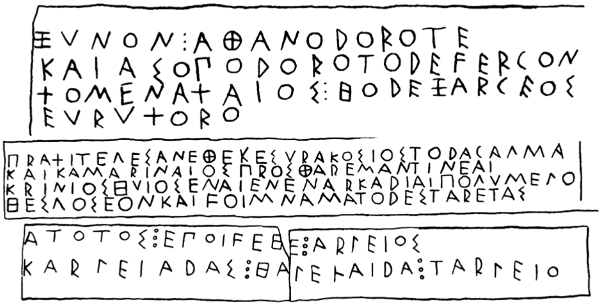


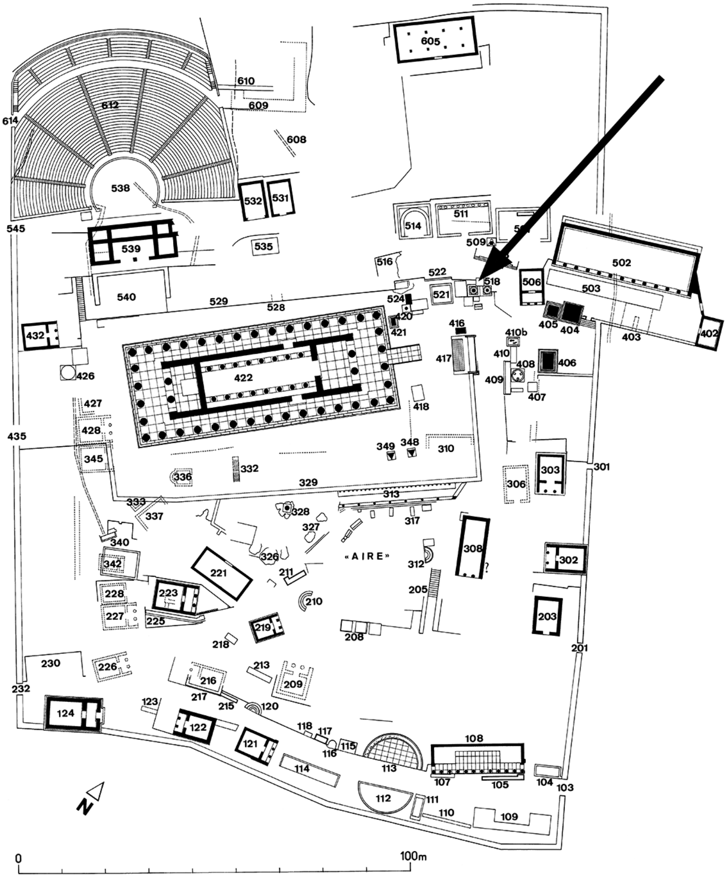
Fig. 7.2. Olympia: monument of Praxiteles, drawing of inscriptions on base. Ca. 485-ca. 472 BCE. After Luraghi 2010, fig. 4.

The second and third lines, however, amount to a protracted qualification of the first and, specifically, of the ethnic Συρακόσιος ("of Syracuse"), expanding on Praxiteles's past life at Kamarina and Mantinea.[23] Presumably he settled at Kamarina sometime after 492 BCE (when Hippokrates of Gela augmented its population) and moved to Syracuse in 485 BCE (when Gelon deported the population there); the monument must predate the beginning of work on the temple of Zeus ca. 472 BCE, as construction debris covered part of its lower course.[24] The fourth line, finally, suggests that Praxiteles's personal qualities subsist amid these movements. It begins with ἐσθλός (worth) and ends with ἀρετή (excellence), the former naming a quality that Praxiteles embodied in the past, the latter one that his monument will proclaim into the future; we pass from one to the other by way of the word μνᾶμα, so the monument is literally the medium of transmission from Arkadian worth to Syracusan excellence.[25]

The inscriptions of Phormis and Praxiteles both state an ethnic only to undo it. In each case, a perfectly adequate, self-contained opening line leads to a strangely qualified statement of Arkadian identity. The result might be called "epichoric irony," a term that has nothing to do with humor, pretense, or playfulness, but rather names a rhetorical device of self-negation. Phormis and Praxiteles mention their prior affiliations *precisely in order to transcend them* within a larger, Deinomenid sphere.

Epichoric irony is not just a matter of semantic content: the very form of the inscription can work to similar effect. Some dedications exhibit a calculated manipulation of epichoric script, that is, the distinctive letterforms of the various city-states.[26] They combine local dialects and scripts to produce unique, hybrid texts that encode the very issues of space and community that the monuments articulate on a larger scale. Nino Luraghi and Ann Patnaude have studied "mixed" inscriptions of this sort, and have underscored the deliberate, even rhetorical manipulation of letterforms in both ceramic and stone inscriptions.[27] Epigraphy suggests that the difference between Arkadia and Sicily, Mantinea and Syracuse, is precisely *not* set in stone.

The famous Deinomenid columns at Delphi make a good starting point (figs. 7.3, 7.4, 7.5). Celebrated by Bacchylides, these twin dedications commemorated Gelon's victory at Himera (480 BCE) and Hieron's at Cumae (474 BCE). Both stood atop unusual, bell-shaped bases and seem to have been made of bronze (possibly even gilded); they were surmounted by tripods and Nikai. The exact chronological relation between the two columns is a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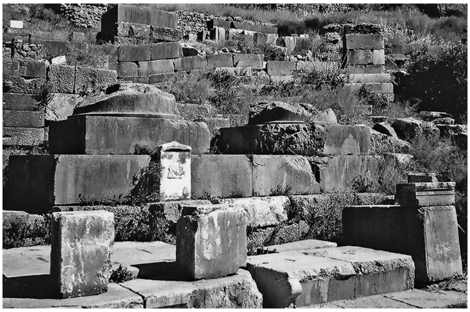

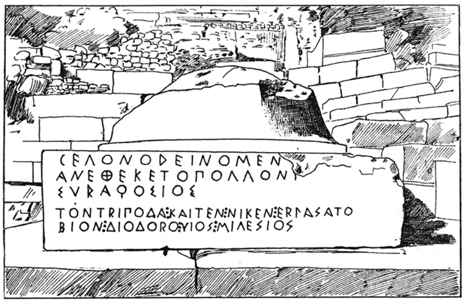
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ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ
ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΠΟΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΝ ΝΙΚΕΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΑΤΟ
ΒΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΙΛΕΣΙΟΣ

Fig. 7.3. (*top*) Delphi: sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, plan. Second century CE. The location of the Deinomenid columns is marked with an arrow. Drawing courtesy of Ecole française d'Athènes. *Fig. 7.4.* (*bottom left*) Delphi: bases of Deinomenid columns. The column of Gelon is on the left, that of Hieron on the right. Ca. 480-470 BCE. Photo by William West III / Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York (CC-BY-SA-2.0). *Fig. 7.5.* (*bottom right*) Delphi: base of the column of Gelon, with inscription. After 480 BCE. Drawing after Homolle 1898.

matter of some uncertainty, but for present purposes the inscriptions are what matter. Gelon's is the better preserved; two inscriptions, in different alphabets, adorn the front of the base:

> Γέλο̄ν ὁ Δεινομέν[εος]
> ἀνέθε̄κε το̄̓πόλλο̄νι
> Συραϙόσιος
>
> τὸν τρίποδα ⁝ καὶ τὲ̄ν ⁝ Νίκε̄ν ⁝ ἐργάσατο
> Βίο̄ν ⁝ Διοδό̄ρο ⁝ υἱὸς ⁝ Μιλέ̄σιος
>
> Gelon the Deinomenid
> dedicated [this] to Apollo,
> Syracusan.
>
> The Nike and the tripod
> Bion worked, Diodoros's son, Milesian.

The two texts are nicely symmetrical in form. That of Gelon, in the Doric dialect, begins with his name and ends with his ethnic on the third line; Bion's, in Ionic, likewise contrives to start with the name and close with the ethnic.[28] The scripts recapitulate this theme. Gelon's dedication employs the Syracusan alphabet, complete with *qoppa* (Ϙ) and a conspicuous lunate *gamma* (C) to open the text; it is, in fact, one of the best samples of Syracusan script to have survived. Bion's signature, by contrast, has proved puzzling. Signatures commonly employ the epichoric script of the artist, yet Bion's is hybrid: it employs an Ionic *gamma* and *delta* but is identical to Gelon's text in other respects, retaining E for *eta* and O for *omega*.[29] Lilian Jeffery described the result as "possibly a mixture of Ionic and Syracusan"; Russell Meiggs and David Lewis, as "a mixed alphabet (Syracusan with Ionic delta and gamma?)."[30] That the text is partially Ionic is not in doubt; the only question, for these epigraphers, is whether the other letters can be called Syracusan. Perhaps it is sufficient to observe that they are identical to the letters of Gelon's inscription on the same block. Bion's signature is Ionic, except when it is not; and when it is not, it looks like Gelon's dedication.

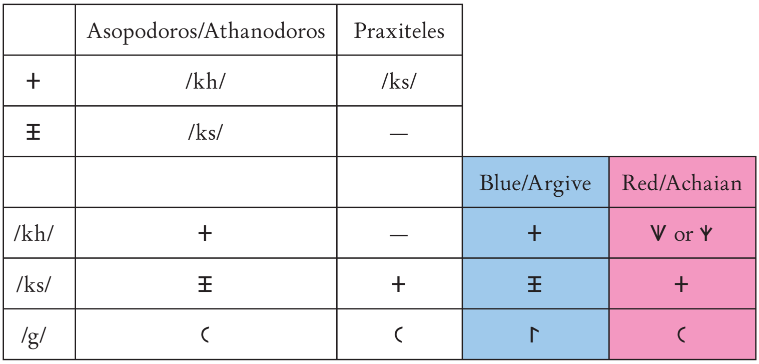
Nino Luraghi notes that a single hand seems to have carved both inscriptions, and argues that the difference is the result of conscious choice.[31] Letterforms matter to this monument, and some thought has gone into their selection. Yet the result is puzzling. Luraghi suggests that Bion's signature represents a “not completely successful” attempt at full-blown Ionicism, as though the mason had tried and failed to write like a Milesian. Yet it is difficult see why a craftsman so alive to the niceties of epichoric scripts should have come to grief on *omega* and *eta*.[32] If the mixing of letterforms was intentional—as Luraghi himself has shown—then the principle of charity would lead one to assume that the result was a success. In that case, the hybridity of Bion’s inscription can only be a consequence of its proximity to Gelon’s. It is as though the tyrant’s influence were so strong as to pull the Milesian artist into a Deinomenid orbit, so that his very alphabet changes, and Ionic becomes, if not necessarily Syracusan, at least “Gelonian.”

Something similar is afoot on Praxiteles’s monument (figs. 2.32, 2.33, 7.1, 7.2). The dedicatory inscription is in what epigraphers call a “red” alphabet, and could be either Syracusan or Mantinean.[33] Flanking the dedication are two additional inscriptions naming the artists who cast the statues (which are, of course, lost).[34] To the right of the dedication we read, “Atotos of Argos and Argeiadas son of Hageladas of Argos made it” (Ἄτοτος ⁝ ἐποίϝε*h*ε ⁝ Ἀργεῖος | κἀργειάδας ⁝ *h*ἀγελάιδα ⁝ τἀργείο). To the left, “This is the common work of Athanodoros and Asopodoros; the one is Achaian, the other from Argos of the broad dancing places” (Ξυνὸν ⁝ Ἀθανοδόρο τε | καὶ Ἀσοποδόρο τόδε ϝέργον· | χὀ μὲν Ἀχαιός, ⁝ ὁ δ’ ἐξ Ἄργεος | εὐρυχόρο). Each signature employs a different alphabet.[35] That of Atotos and Argeiades is in the Argive script, featuring a highly distinctive *lambda*, as one would expect for Argive sculptors. That of Athanodoros and Asopodoros is usually said to be a hybrid of Argive and Achaian, matching the nationalities of the two sculptors.[36] Yet, as Jeffery noted, all of the supposedly Achaian characters in the inscription (e.g., a lunate *gamma*) are equally consistent with Syracuse; Jeffery herself thought the inscription Syracusan.[37] The net result is, as Patnaude puts it, “a virtual web of communication, advertisement and self-promotion.”[38] Each of the three inscriptions makes direct reference to regional identity (Arkadia/Mantinea, Syracuse, Kamarina, Argos, and Achaia), and each deploys a different epichoric script, but only one has unambiguous ties with a particular city: the signature of the Argives, Atotos and Argeiades.

The differences between the Praxiteles inscription and the Asopodoros/Athandoros inscription center on two signs: + and ⌶. The cruciform + stands for /ks/ in the Praxiteles inscription, /kh/ in the artists’ signature, which in turn uses ⌶ for /ks/.[39] A chart makes the breakdown clear: the use of + for /kh/ is consistent with both Argive and Syracusan writing systems, but not with Achaian (fig. 7.6).[40] The usual explanation for its appearance here is that it represents an Argive strain in the mixed or hybrid inscription. Yet there is something odd about this usage, which a formalistic attention to letterforms has tended to obscure. The letter cutter's brief was, *ex hypothesi*, to combine the Achaian and Argive alphabets. He was to do so in order to signal that the artists were themselves Achaian and Argive. To that end, he had a choice in how to render the phoneme /kh/: either in the "blue," Argive fashion (+) or in the "red," Achaian one (Ψ or ᛉ). These different signs are crucial for distinguishing the epichoric scripts. The /kh/ phoneme appears three times in the inscription: twice at the very beginning of the second line, when identifying Athanodoros as Achaian (χὸ μὲν Ἀχαιός), and once at the very end, when characterizing Argos as εὐρυχόρο. The mason, therefore, had a golden opportunity to correlate letterforms and nationality: he could have selected the Achaian *chi* (Ψ), which would have allowed him to write the ethnic "Achaian" (Ἀχαιός) with the distinctive *Achaian* form (ΑΨΑΙΟΣ). The conjunction of script and national origin would have been perfect. But the mason did the opposite: he chose the Argive form, Α+ΑΙΟΣ. He then did precisely the same thing with the other ethnic, "Argive" (Ἄργεος), writing it with the lunate, Achaian (or Syracusan, or Arkadian) *gamma* instead of the upright, Argive one: ΑΡCΕΟΣ instead of ΑΡΓΕΟΣ. The inconsistency will have been readily apparent on the monument itself, since the dedicatory inscription of Praxiteles also used the lunate *gamma*, while the signature of the Argive sculptors Atotos and Argeiades used the upright form.

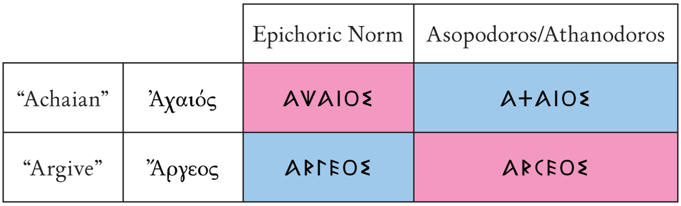
The result of all these manipulations is a neat chiasmus between letterform and ethnic: the word "Achaian" uses Argive forms, and the word "Argive" uses Achaian (or Syracusan or Arkadian) ones. This pattern is readily apparent in figure 7.7. It is the opposite of what one would predict if the purpose of mixing alphabets were to correlate with ethnicity. Did the letter cutter miss the point, or have we misjudged his motives?

Although it is possible that the mason was simply thoughtless, that conclusion seems out of keeping with the premise that he set about deliberately blending the alphabets of different cities.[41] The plain fact is that nationality and alphabet do not correlate as closely as they might have done had that been the intention. Add to this point Jeffery's observation that every seemingly Achaian feature in this inscription is equally consistent with Syracuse, and the result may seem almost perversely opaque.[42] Instead



	Asopodoros/Athanodoros	Praxiteles		
+	/kh/	/ks/		
Ξ	/ks/	—		
			Blue/Argive	Red/Achaian
/kh/	+	—	+	V or Ψ
/ks/	Ξ	+	Ξ	+
/g/	(	(	Γ	(

Fig. 7.6. Olympia: Praxiteles monument. Chart comparing the letterforms in the inscriptions to Argive and Achaian norms.



		Epichoric Norm	Asopodoros/Athanodoros
“Achaian”	Ἀχαιός	ΑVΑΙΟΣ	Α+ΑΙΟΣ
“Argive”	Ἄργεος	ΑΡΓΕΟΣ	ΑΡ(ΕΟΣ

Fig. 7.7. Olympia: Praxiteles monument. Chart comparing the letterforms used for Ἀχαιός (“Achaian”) and Ἄργεος (“Argive”) to epichoric norms.

of a lucid synthesis of Argive and Achaian, the inscription is gratuitously ambiguous and could well be seen as partly Syracusan in deference to the patron, Praxiteles.

The analogy with Bion of Miletos is obvious, as the patron once again exerts an almost gravitational pull on the letterforms of his servants. In this case, however, that patron is himself just another “satellite” in the Deinomenid orbit, to the point that it is impossible to say whether the script of Praxiteles’s own dedication is Mantinean or Syracusan in character. In general, the diverse letterforms on this monument suggest deliberate choice, yet the result is obscure; the inscription is clearly hybrid, but the constitutive elements of this hybridity remain underdetermined. The only certainty is a readiness to manipulate epichoric scripts and to make allusions for effect.

Rather than forcing the issue, then, and insisting that the inscriptions are more straightforward than they really are, it might be prudent to accept the opacity as a real phenomenon in its own right; it’s not a bug, it’s a feature. Seen in this light, it is apparent that the entire monument is an exercise in epichoric irony. As epitomized in the words Α+ΑΙΟΣ and ΑΡϹΕΟΣ, which use Argive script to name Achaian origins and vice versa, the mixed letterforms at once allude to local identity and cancel it out; in so doing, they recapitulate, at the level of orthography, the ethnic self-negation that the inscriptions of Phormis and Praxiteles effect at the level of semantics. Just as Praxiteles floats between Arkadia and Sicily, so Athanodoros and Asopodoros mix letterforms to produce a hybrid that encodes either their own ethnicities, or that of their patron, or both.

Pindar composed his poems in this milieu. As with craftsmen, so with mercenaries: the analogy between Bion, Athanodoros, and Asopodoros on the one hand, and minions like Phormis, Praxiteles, Psaumis, and Hagesias on the other, is unmistakable, to the point that the sculptors even make reference to choral dance ("from Argos of the broad dancing places," ἐξ Ἄργεος | εὐρυχόρο). Men in the service of the Deinomenidai become inhabitants of a sort of non-place, where statements of ethnic, civic, or regional difference are constitutively ironic within a rhetorical scheme that transcends regional difference. One effect of this epichoric irony is to make the tyrants—or, by metonymy, Syracuse—into stable points of reference in an otherwise mutable world. Terms like Arkadia, Syracuse, Kamarina, and Kroton are not merely institutional or political, but spatial as well. Crudely put, *what becomes ironic is not just identity but space and distance*. With these monuments and poems, the panhellenic shrine—an interstitial zone, within the polis world but not quite of it—becomes a venue to reconfigure the relation between places and regions, on the one hand, and political communities, on the other.[43] This thematic so pervades the Deinomenid regime as to affect the very characters of its votive inscriptions. Olympian 6, as we shall see, elaborates upon this distinctly political, even imperial mode of orientation.

Although the connection between the Deinomenidai, the dedications, and Pindar has attracted the notice of scholars, three points have not gained sufficient attention. One is the specific role of epichoric irony in the articulation of a Deinomenid *oikoumenē*: the dissolution of distance, as it were, in the very act of stating it. Another is the role of material culture in articulating this irony: the monuments themselves instantiate the Deinomenid manipulation of territories, regions, and peoples by means of inscriptions. The third is that these rhetorical manipulations are essentially spatial, that is to say, a matter of usage and practice in three dimensions.

An obsession with identity in recent scholarship has tended to obscure these aspects. It is easy—and perfectly valid—to see Deinomenid policy in political, military, or institutional terms. What has proved less obvious, however, is that this power was fundamentally a manipulation of locality and territory. Each political or ideological intervention—displacing populations, absorbing states, fostering migration—was equally an intervention in basic relations of near and far, here and there, inside and out. These relations are its meaning *in concreto*. Such intervention could be quite literal, albeit circumscribed, in the case of a "high and elaborately wrought" (ὑψιδαίδαλτος, Bacch. 3.18) monument like Gelon's tripod atop a column, or a long, roadside statue group like the Praxiteles dedication: combining sculpture and architecture, such *anathēmata* literally reordered the built environments of Delphi and Olympia. Inscriptions, however, could establish the tyrants themselves as basic points of reference on a larger scale, as when Bion's Ionic letterforms "gravitate" toward Gelon; they establish new, large-scale relations of proximity, as when Sicily and Arkadia interchange in the dedications of Phormis and Praxiteles. This is spatial *kosmēsis* on a grand scale. Pindar's own poetic project—performed by dancers in motion in multiple venues—becomes all the more apparent in this light.

Olympian 6 between Arkadia and Syracuse

Here, after offering a brief summary of Olympian 6 and its circumstances, we will consider its distinctive spatiality. We will proceed initially through the two different image systems the ode itself seems to set up sequentially: first, architecture/topography in the remainder of this chapter; second, roads and journeying in chapter 8. Through the course of our analysis, however, we will come to find that these two image systems converge and combine in what we will call "technologies of transport." This imagistic convergence has everything to do with the modeling of Deinomenid power and the disparate, discontinuous spaces it occupies.

Olympian 6 was composed for Hagesias, son of Sostratos, for a victory in the mule-cart race at Olympia. The ode begins with an elaborate architectural conceit, erecting the columns of a "well-walled porch" for a "marvelous *megaron*" of song; this poetic prooimion leads into extended praise of the victor. Then, after invoking as a preliminary myth the encomium Adrastos once spoke over the seer Amphiaraos, mysteriously swallowed by the earth, the poet launches into another elaborate conceit at the beginning of the second triad, of "opening the gates of song" for

Hagesias's victorious mule team to progress through time "to the very *genos* of men."

This extended metaphor of spatial voyaging for time leads into the poem's long central myth of the familial descent and mantic investiture of Iamos, Hagesias's ancestor on his father's side (29–70).[44] The poem proceeds first to Pitane (both Spartan village and homonymous nymph), who together with Poseidon produces Evadne. She is entrusted as an infant to Aipytos, who is characterized by Pindar as "lord of Arkadian men" in the relatively obscure town of Phaisana (figs. 7.8, 7.9).[45] Evadne, in turn, has her first sexual experience "under Apollo" and becomes pregnant, but conceals her condition (unsuccessfully) from her foster father. The Arkadian king in a rage travels to Delphi to consult the oracle about the illicit pregnancy; in the meantime, Evadne bears Iamos in secret and leaves him on the ground somewhere in Arkadia. There, the baby is miraculously nurtured with honey by two serpents. Eventually (we are not told quite how), after the return of Aipytos from Delphi, the baby is found, named, and brought up by Evadne. When Iamos comes to maturity, he descends at night to the middle of the Alpheios River, where he prays to both his divine forefathers, Poseidon and Apollo, for some honor to be his. The voice of Apollo comes to him in response and leads him to what will be the site of the Altis, the sacred precinct at Olympia. There Apollo confers on his son a "double treasury of prophecy," "to hear the voice ignorant of lies" and to establish an oracle on the heights of the great altar of Zeus once Herakles has founded the Olympic festival and games.

Here the poet segues out of the myth, again through road imagery, though this time applied to the mantic clan of the Iamidai, to which the victor belongs. From there, in the middle of the fourth antistrophe, the poet shifts again to Hagesias's maternal family, who occupy the territory of Stymphalos, below Mount Kyllene in Arkadia, gesturing toward their (unspecified) athletic victories. Then, with an abrupt shift at the end of the fourth epode, Pindar suddenly recognizes his own kinship with the victor's family, since the nymph Thebe is daughter of the Stymphalian nymph Metope. Pindar locates himself in Thebes, composing the poem, and then entrusts it to Aineas (presumably the *chorodidaskalos*) as his messenger to convey it to his "companions," the chorus members.[46] Through the poet's instructions to Aineas, the scene dissolves from Boiotia and Stymphalos to Syracuse, Ortygia, and Hieron. Hieron is asked kindly to receive Hagesias's victory *kōmos* "going from home to home," from the walls of Stym-

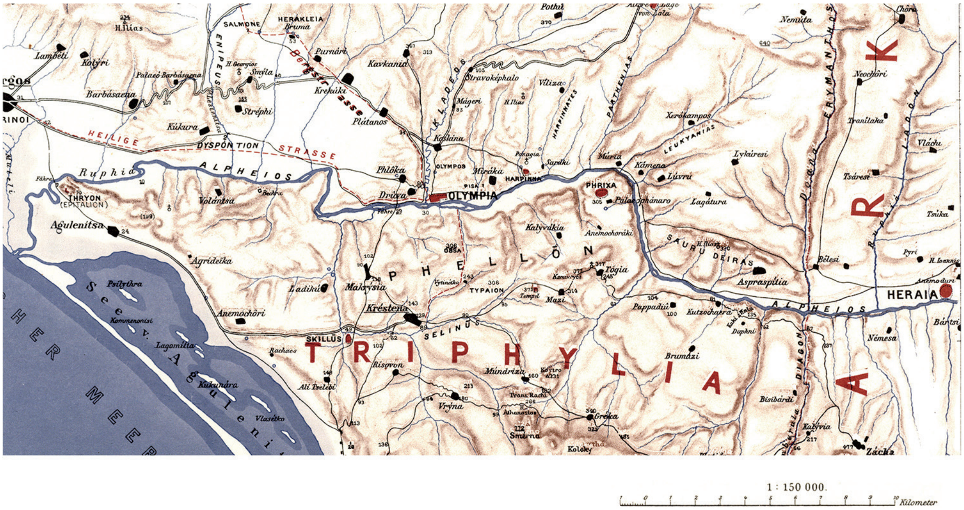

H. Ilias
Lambeti
Kolyri
Palaeó Barbásaena
Barbásaena
RINOI
Kúkura
HEILIGE
DYSPON TION
STRASSE
SALMONE
HERAKLEIA
Bruma
ENIPEUS
Lestenitsa
H. Georgios
Smýla
Stréphi
Purnári
Bergstrasse
Krekúki
Plátanos
Kavkania
KLADEOS
Stravoképhalo
Máageri
H. Ilias
Viliza
HARPINNATES
Pothu
Lage von Lala
PARTHENIAS
Xerókampos
LEUKYANIAS
Nemuta
ERYMANTHOS
Chôra
K
Neochôri
Tranilaka
LADON
Vlachu
Koskina
OLYMPOS
Panagia
Saraki
Múria
Kámena
Lúvru
Lykairesi
Tsáresi
Phlôka
Miráka
HARPINNA
PISA ?
Drúva
OLYMPIA
Ruphia
ALPHEIOS
Fähre
THRYON
(EPITALION)
Volántsa
Bechra
Agulenitsa
PHRIXA
Palaeophánaro
Lagátura
Doana
R
Tsuka
Ruphia
Kalyvákia
Anemochoráki
SAURU DEIRAS
H. Ilias
Bélesi
Pyri
H. Ioannis
Anemoduri
HERAIA
Agrideika
OBSA
PHELLÔN
Tógia
Karavryti
Aspraspitia
Psilythra
See v. Agulenitsa
Kommenonisi
Lagomilia
Kukunára
Vlasétko
Ladikú
Makrýsia
Vytinéika
TYPAION
Tempel
Mazi
Pappadiú
Kutzochaera
Kaki Skala
Daphni
Bártsi
Anemochôri
Kréstena
SELINUS
SKILLUS
TRIPHYLIA
Rachaes
Risovon
Ali Tselebi
Múndriza
Kostro
Brumazi
DIAGON
Némesa
Vrýna
Trani Rachi
H. Athanasios
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Fig. 7.8. Olympia and environs, with the course of the Alpheios as it flows out of Arkadia to the western sea. Pindar's Phaisana is often identified with Phrixa, upstream from Olympia. Drawing excerpted from Curtius and Adler 1897, plate 1.

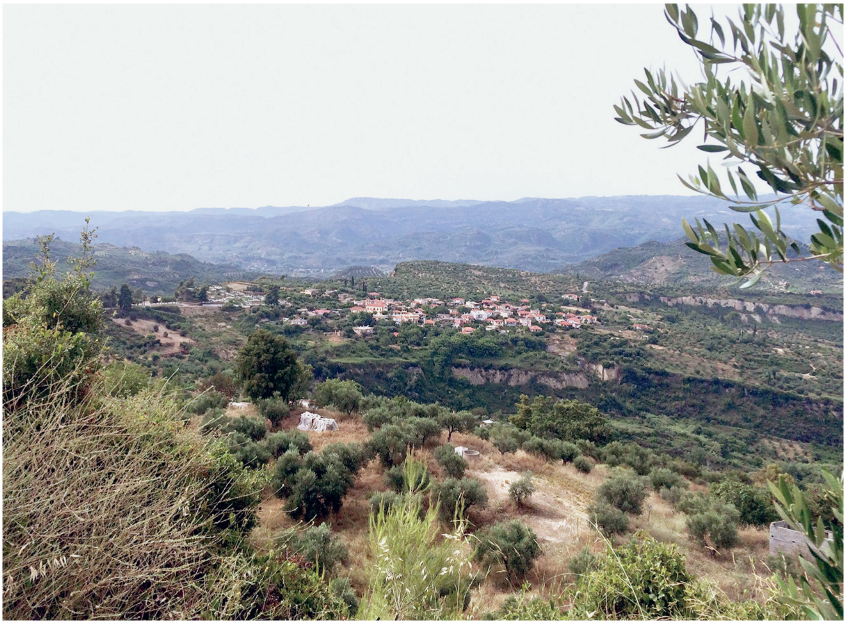


Fig. 7.9. Phaisana: view looking west down the Alpheios valley. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

phalos to Syracuse/Ortygia. The poem ends with the gnomic observation that it is good for a ship to have two anchors on a stormy night, and then a final prayer to Poseidon, "lord who rules over the sea," to exalt "the delightful bloom of my hymns."

The poem itself informs us that Hagesias was an Iamid seer on his father's side, συνοικιστήρ of Syracuse (whatever exactly we understand that to mean), and a citizen of both Syracuse and Stymphalos in Arkadia.[47] The praise Pindar offers Hagesias in the mini-myth of the first triad, uttered by Adrastos at Thebes about Amphiaraos as "the eye of [his] army," led the scholiasts to conclude that Hagesias was Hieron's military seer, while another scholiast seems to tell us that Hagesias was executed after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny.[48] Hagesias, we can conclude, was most likely a prominent figure at Hieron's court. He seems to have served Hieron (and perhaps also Gelon before him) in his capacity as seer. His mule-cart victory must fall between 476 and 468 BCE. On the one hand, Olympian 6 mentions Hieron's devotion to the "power of Zeus Aitnaios" (O.6.96), which suggests that Hagesias must have competed and won after Hieron decided to found his new city of Aitna (476/75 BCE).[49] On the other, the year of Hieron's death, 467 BCE, is a cutoff date for the poem's commissioning and performance, hence for the victory as well.

As for the place of performance, most scholars have taken at face value the ode's closing image of the victory *kōmos* processing "from home to home" (οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ', O.6.99), from Arkadian Stymphalos to Syracuse, positing dual performance at the two sites.[50] More recently, a few scholars have challenged this notion, some preferring to posit performance only at Stymphalos, others performance only (or primarily) at Syracuse.[51] A. D. Morrison, however, who argues for a first performance at Syracuse, also acknowledges that reperformance in Arkadia was perfectly possible.[52] Indeed, given the current scholarly openness to the idea of choral reperformance of Pindar's odes, Olympian 6 would seem to be a good candidate for multiple such performances in Sicily and the Peloponnese.[53] And here, we follow the lead of Thomas K. Hubbard, who suggested for another epinikion composed for a henchman of Hieron (N.9 for Chromios) that we might imagine multiple reperformances throughout the Peloponnese linked to an effort on Hieron's part to recruit additional settlers and mercenaries (not necessarily distinct categories) for the newly founded city of Aitna. For Diodorus Siculus informs us that for Aitna (founded in 476/75), Hieron recruited five thousand settlers from the Peloponnese and another five thousand from Syracuse itself; many of these settlers—like several of Hieron's most prominent lieutenants—would have been Arkadian.[54] Given the possible date range for Olympian 6, we could imagine multiple reperformances of Hagesias's ode as well in the Peloponnese, with the same purpose in view.[55]

Amidst the scholarly debate raging about original performance in Stymphalos, or in Syracuse, or in both, and in which order, one potential performance context for Olympian 6 has gone largely unremarked: performance at Olympia itself. And yet, such performance is arguably implied in Apollo's quoted utterance to his son Iamos at the climax of the poem's myth, when he urges his son to visit the site of the sanctuary:[56]

> ἀντεφθέγξατο δ᾽ ἀρτιεπής
> πατρία ὄσσα, μετάλλασέν τέ νιν· "Ὄρσο, τέκνον,
> δεῦρο πάγκοινον ἐς χώραν ἴμεν φάμας ὄπισθεν." (O.6.61-63)

> And the clear-speaking voice of his father answered and sought him out, "Arise, child, to come to this place [that will be] common to all behind [my] voice."

Commentators are oddly silent about this δεῦρο, but in context it should have the deictic force of "here, to this place, to *Olympia*."[57] It may be that readers discount the deictic force of δεῦρο because it is contained within the quotation of Apollo's direct speech in mythic time (in fact the only direct speech in the extended mythic narrative of lines 29–70).[58] In a poem that emphatically frames its translation to mythic time as a spatial journey (O.6.22-28), this δεῦρο would then contribute to the audience's transport in fantasy to the mythic site of Olympia. This reading, however, is not in keeping with Pindar's normal usage. The poet is very consistent in his use of δεῦρο, which occurs in two other epinikia as the hinge or switchpoint between mythic time and the here and now of performance.[59] In Olympian 6, Apollo's conjuration to "come *here* (δεῦρο) behind my voice" leads into a precise topographical description of the Altis at Olympia—a description we will consider in more detail a little later. This careful plotting of the Altis in turn guides us imperceptibly from Herakles's mythic foundation of the games to present Iamid mantic practice at the great altar of Zeus.[60] That is to say, Apollo's δεῦρο also functions as a hinge between past and present, Iamos and Hagesias: the "there and then" of the myth and the "here and now" of choral performance. On the one hand, the term is a linguistic shifter, defining place relative to the speaker (δεῦρο is wherever Apollo happens to be, and to get there one must follow his voice). On the other hand, it refers to a specific place, the Altis, and to get *there* you follow the Alpheios (fig. 7.8). Ambivalent, then, between past and present, voice and place, δεῦρο encourages us at the very least to imagine reperformance of the poem at Olympia, along with multiple other venues. (Put differently, wherever the voice of the chorus is, there is Olympia.) And indeed, several scholars have suggested independently that choral reperformance of epinikia at the next iteration of the panhellenic games at which the victor originally won was a likely scenario—one effective means of ensuring the immortality through song that epinikion so lavishly promised.[61] Anna Bonifazi nicely captures the ambiguity of δεῦρο at Olympian 6.63 when she notes that it is "suspended between" *Deixis am Phantasma* and *demonstratio ad oculos*.[62] We will return to this ambiguous δεῦρο at the end of our discussion in the next chapter.

The Architecture of Olympian 6, or Pindar and the Treasuries

Olympian 6 famously begins with the poet's construction of a "far-shining façade" or prooimion of song:

> Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐτειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου
> κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον
> πάξομεν· ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον
> χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές. εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας,
> βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσᾳ,
> συνοικιστὴρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν, τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον
> κεῖνος ἀνήρ, ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων ἀστῶν ἐν ἱμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς; (O.6.1-7)

> [Let us set up] golden columns under a well-walled porch, as when we build a marvelous hall; for one ought to make the façade of a work when it is begun far-shining. And if he be an Olympic victor, and steward of the mantic altar of Zeus in Pisa, and cofounder of glorious Syracuse, what hymn could that man escape, if he should happen upon fellow citizens ungrudging amidst lovely songs?

This elaborate architectural conceit dominates the opening of the poem, figuring simultaneously Hagesias's achievements and Pindar's poetic celebration thereof. The image is unique even within Pindar's extensive lexicon of architectural metaphors for song. As Zoe Stamatopoulou observes, Olympian 6 is the *only* place where Pindar uses the image of a porch to represent the beginning of his song: "Although architectural metaphors for poetry are well attested in Pindar, this is the only passage where a portico represents the beginning of a poem: instead, Pindar usually employs the metaphor of the κρηπίς, the foundation, as in *Pyth.* 4.138, *Pyth.* 7.3, and fr. 194. The choice is significant: the advantage of a portico over the foundation is height and therefore visibility from a distance."[63] This striking image raises a question: what sort of building are we to imagine? Making full allowance for poetic license, Greek architecture is formulaic, no less than Greek poetry; it is worth asking what building types were available to Pindar as raw material for his conceit.

Commentators have suggested various possibilities: a house (θαλάμου), a palace (μέγαρον), a temple, or a treasury.[64] But, as Anna Bonifazi and Kathryn Morgan insist, at the outset the architectural image remains vague and general. It is almost irresistible to connect the opening building and façade with the poet's injunction at the beginning of the second triad to "fling wide the gates of hymns" for Hagesias's victorious mule team setting off on their metaphorical journey to the ἀνδρῶν . . . γένος, the source or origin of Hagesias's Iamid clan (O.6.27).[65] As Morgan notes, "The architectural terminology is not specific. This has a further advantage in that it allows us to bring in other associations."[66] Yet even granting the shifting, morphing quality of Pindar's imagery within the ode, certain features of the opening conceit may invite a more precise identification.

The opening strophe mentions exactly two monuments: the *thalamos*, with its well-built porch, and the ash altar of Zeus at Olympia. This association of the *thalamos* with Olympia implies sacred architecture of the sort one might encounter in the Altis, as opposed to a domestic building; the second strophe (23–28) confirms our presence at Olympia, when the poet describes Hagesias's mule cart embarking from the sanctuary en route to Lakedaimonian Pitane (figs. 2.32, 7.10). As Gregory Hutchinson has observed, moreover, the noun θαλάμου would need to be plural to designate a dwelling; for a single chamber to have a porch would be anomalous both architecturally and linguistically.[67] What sort of building, then, are we to envision? The singular θάλαμος is precisely the term Pausanias uses to designate a pair of votive chambers, made of Tartessian bronze, that Myron of Sikyon is said to have dedicated at Olympia in 648 BCE; the periegete saw them inside the Sikyonian treasury, a much later construction of the

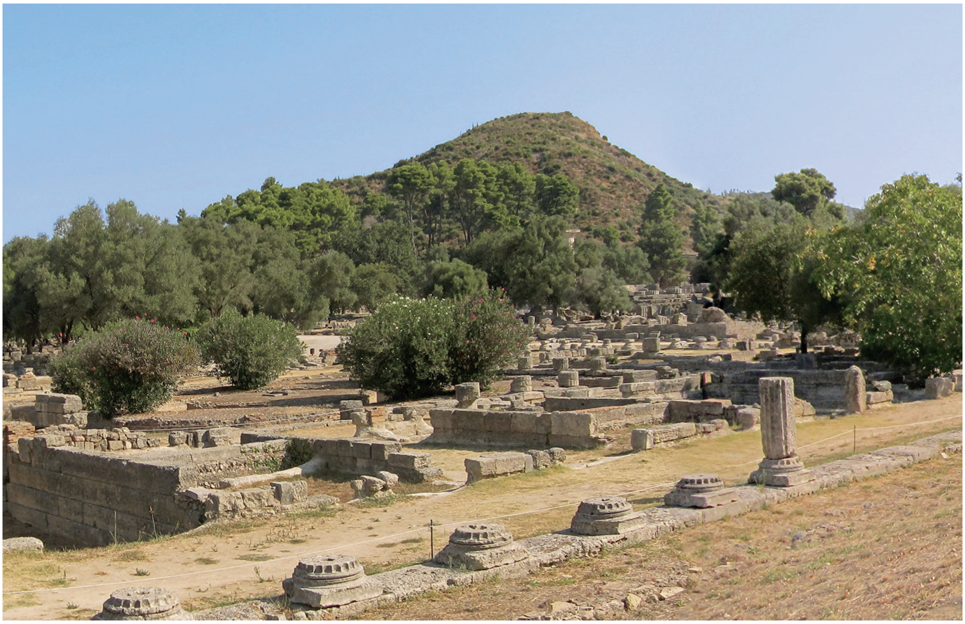


Fig. 7.10. Olympia: view of the Altis from the southwest, with Kronion mount in the background. Photo: Tomisti (CC-BY-SA-3.0).

second quarter of the fifth century BCE (Paus. 6.19.2, 4). These *thalamoi* were presumably model shrines of considerable size, each of which may have held precious goods like a sort of cupboard.[68] Their exact form is unclear, but they were certainly architectural: Pausanias says that one was Doric, the other Ionic.

A *thalamos* in the Altis strongly suggests a treasure house. Such edifices typically consisted of a single cella, sometimes with a plain façade, sometimes with a pronaos distyle-in-antis. These little buildings were prominent at Olympia: in Pindar's day there were eleven lining a low terrace at the foot of the Kronion hill, overlooking the Altis (twelve foundations survive, numbered I–XII in figure 7.11, but VIII is probably an altar); Delphi boasted even more, built by cities from every corner of the Greek world.[69] Certainly, θάλαμος seems an apt term for such a building.[70] Should we conclude, then, that Pindar's language evokes a treasure house?

To this suggestion there is a ready objection: treasure houses do not have porches. More precisely, it is hard to envision how a standard treasury might incorporate a *prothuron* of the sort Pindar describes. A building

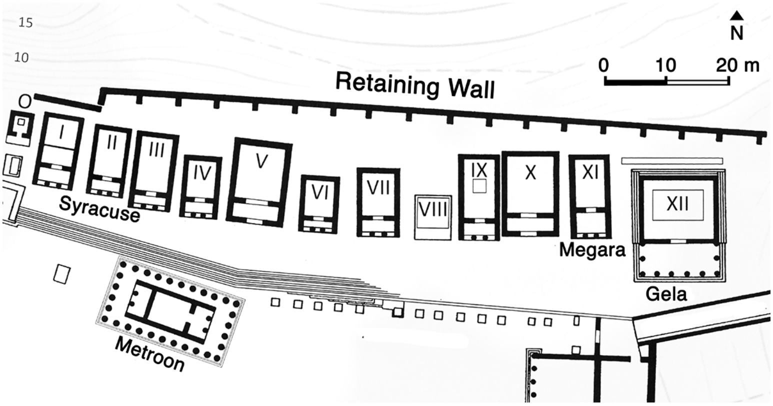


Fig. 7.11. Olympia: plan of the treasury terrace. Drawing after Heilmeyer 2012 (modified).

distyle-in-antis does, of course, have a pronaos, and a pronaos is very porch-like, but Pindar envisions multiple columns, not just two. His language conjures up a single chamber, or *thalamos*, adorned with a projecting porch that makes its "face" shine from afar. If we are to imagine Pindar evoking a treasury, therefore, we must also imagine a treasury with a porch.

That seems a tall order, but one treasure house in the Greek world fits the bill exactly. It stood at Olympia, has a plausible association with the Deinomenidai, and was extant in Pindar's day. The building in question is the treasury of Gela at Olympia—Gela being, of course, the original home of the Deinomenidai themselves.[71] This treasury went up in two phases. Phase I was a simple chamber, without columns, porch, or even a Doric frieze.[72] It was the largest and apparently the earliest of all the treasuries at Olympia, dating to the sixth century BCE; unlike the later examples that would eventually line the terrace, it faced east, not south (fig. 7.12).[73] In the later Phase II, however, the entire structure was reoriented 90° to face south, in conformity with neighboring *thēsauroi* that had sprouted in the interim: the eastern doorway was walled in and a splendid hexastyle prostyle porch built across the south flank, transforming the side wall into a front or *prosōpon*.[74] This porch is by far the most prominent on any *thēsauros* in the Greek world: indeed, it is unique—a *hapax oikodomoumenon*, so to speak—the only prostyle porch on any treasury at Olympia, Delphi, or Delos. Where a porch distyle-in-antis is (as the name suggests) framed by antae and flush with the frontmost projection of the flanking walls, a hexastyle prostyle one has

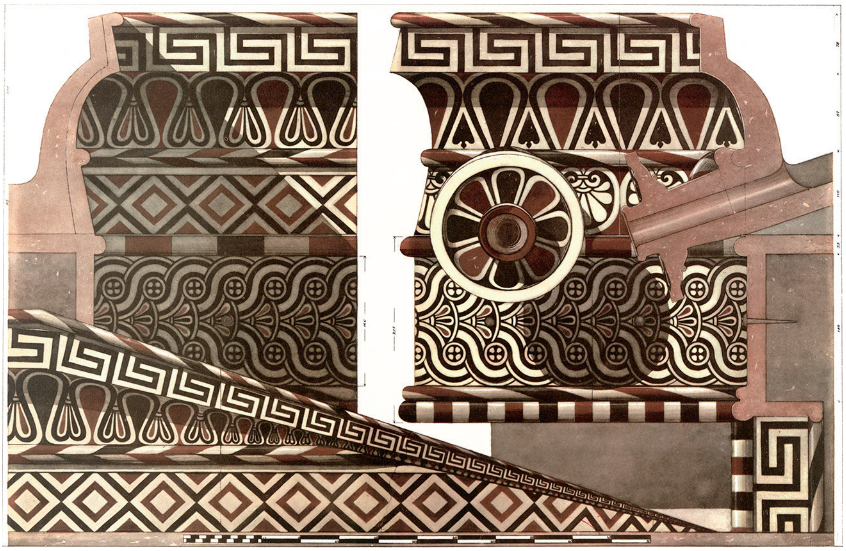


Fig. 7.12. Olympia: treasury of Gela (Phase I), roofing revetments. Note the distinctive West Greek / Sicilian sima with gutter spouts. Clay, third quarter of the sixth century BCE. Drawing after Curtius and Adler 1892.

three times as many columns and juts out in front of the cella (again, as the name suggests). In the case of the Geloan treasury, this new porch was particularly prominent, for it caused the building to "break ranks" with all the other treasuries on the Olympia terrace and project forward in truly self-aggrandizing fashion (see figs. 7.11, A.2, A.3). Its function is obscure: presumably, like a temple peristyle or a stoa, it provided a venue for the display of large votives, though it may equally have been ornamental.

We have, in short, an extremely unusual building and an extremely unusual poetic conceit, both of which coincide perfectly in the context of the Deinomenidai and the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. This correspondence is strong, albeit circumstantial evidence for an identification between the opening image of Olympian 6 and the Geloan treasury. It seems very likely that when Pindar calls for the adornment of a *thalamos* with a well-walled porch, he conjures a particular building, a particular space: the Geloan treasury and the Altis at Olympia.

Archaeologists have tended to date the Geloan porch to ca. 510–500. Yet the evidence is far more consistent with a date in the 470s BCE. We offer detailed arguments in support of this redating in the appendix. To summarize, however, the high date depends largely on a single comparandum:

the Megarian treasury at Olympia, dated to the late Archaic period on the basis of its pedimental sculpture. Because the Megarian treasury shares certain proportional features with the porch, the two buildings have been deemed contemporary. Yet treasuries typically reflected the architectural norms of the cities that built them; there are many more apt and numerous comparanda for the Geloan porch in the Greek West. Of particular relevance are strong similarities at multiple points between the Geloan porch and the early Classical Temple C at Gela itself, along with three buildings associated with the Greek victory over Carthage at the battle of Himera in 480 BCE: the "victory temples" at Himera and Syracuse (built by Theron of Akragas and the Deinomenidai, respectively) and the Syracusan treasury at Olympia (Foundation II on the treasury terrace, also built by the Deinomenidai) (figs. 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, A.4, A.5, A.6).[75] These comparanda are more numerous and more relevant than anything linking the porch to the treasury of Megara, and they strongly suggest a date in the 470s BCE. We might therefore set the porch alongside the Syracusan treasury and the other Deinomenid monuments at both Delphi and Olympia as part of a comprehensive program of self-promotion at the panhellenic shrines—a program of which Pindar's epinikia were themselves a part. As often, when Pindar evokes a building project, he does not speak lightly; he selects his imagery for maximum impact, and the opening of Olympian 6 is topical in the most literal sense, in that it calls to mind a specific *topos* or place.

Yet our identification of Pindar's image with the Geloan porch does not depend upon chronology. Although our proposed redating would strengthen and enrich the connection between Olympian 6 and the building, the allusion holds even if the two were not contemporary. It holds, in the end, thanks to the sheer idiosyncrasy of Pindar's architectural imagery: the unique parallelism between the Geloan *thēsauros* with its porch and Pindar's *thalamos* with its *prothuron*.

To object that Hagesias is Syracusan and the porch Geloan would merely beg the relevant questions. The Deinomenidai themselves felt free to move between the two cities: first Gelon, then Hieron began as tyrant of Gela before moving on to Syracuse. Moreover, we have seen that the *anathēmata* at Delphi and Olympia consistently manipulate and thematize issues of citizenship and state. Rather than assuming incompatibility between Syracusan and Geloan origins, therefore, we need to ask what it betokens for citizenship in this situation that it should be independent of place, transferable from one locale to another? Such questions are, of course, at the

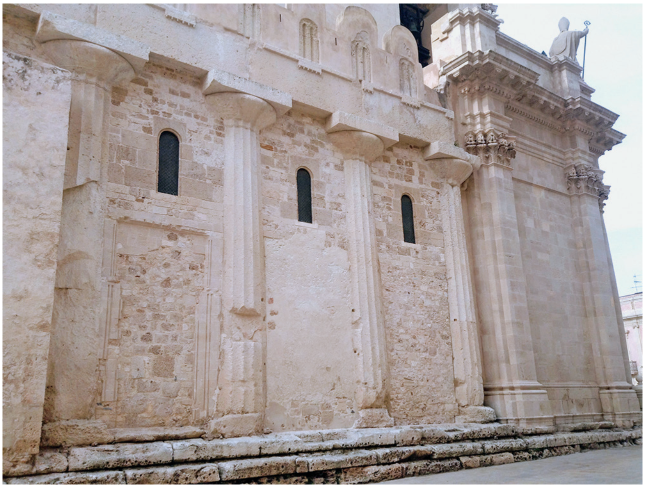


Fig. 7.13. Syracuse: temple of Athena, columns and entablature incorporated into later cathedral. Greek elements after 480 BCE. Cf. figs. A.5, A.6. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

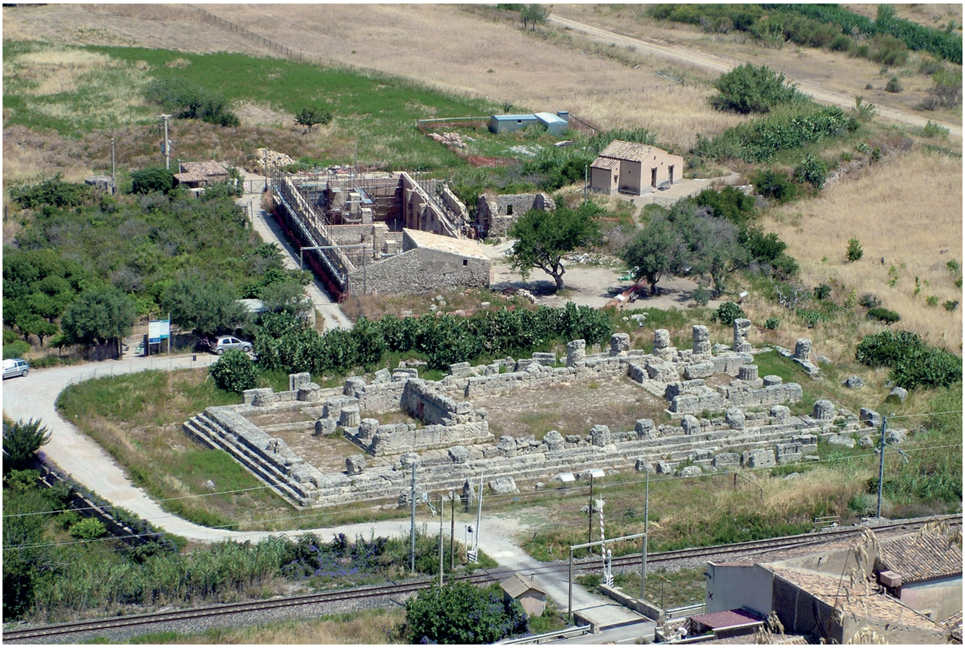


Fig. 7.14. Himera: "Victory temple," aerial view. After 480 BCE. Cf. fig. A.4. Photo: Clemensfranz (CC-BY-2.5).

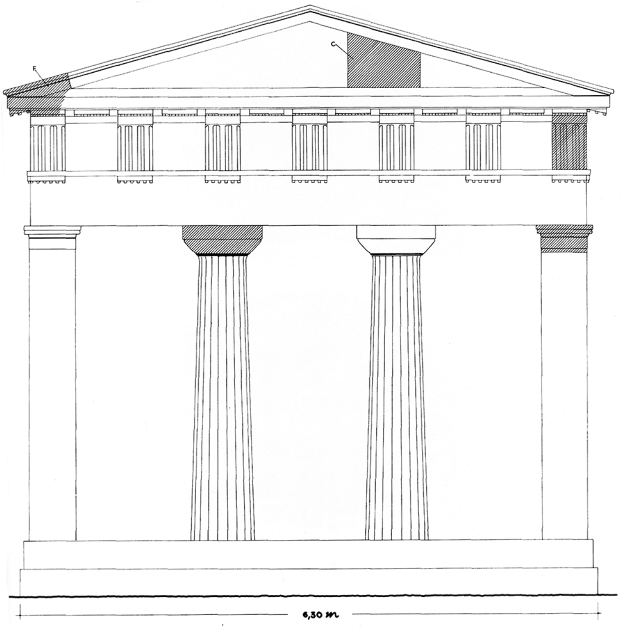


Fig. 7.15. Olympia: treasury of Syracuse, reconstructed elevation. After 480 BCE. Drawing after Mallwitz 1961.

heart of Olympian 6 as a whole, which narrates the progress of Iamos and his clan from town to town before coming to rest on Ortygia.

Before addressing such issues, however, we need a better sense of Pindar's imagery. What is a treasury?

Like temples, which they closely resembled, treasuries existed to hold offerings and even statues, but they did not have priests or cults assigned to them.[76] Examples at Olympia, Delphi, and Delos were built by individual states to hold the offerings of their wealthy citizens (figs. 7.3, 7.11, 7.16). Only at a panhellenic sanctuary were outsiders permitted to build in this way. There was a treasury in the Heraion at Samos, for instance, but it was built by locals to hold overflow dedications from the main temple nearby; it would have been unthinkable for the Athenians to allow another state to build a treasury on the Acropolis, or even at Eleusis.[77]

But mere storage, mere practicality, cannot explain the existence of such buildings.[78] Many large, powerful cities, whose wealthy citizens made lavish offerings, never saw fit to build treasure houses: at Olympia, only eleven cities did so, out of the hundreds that used the shrine. The politics of dedication suggests another explanation. When placed on view in a treasury,

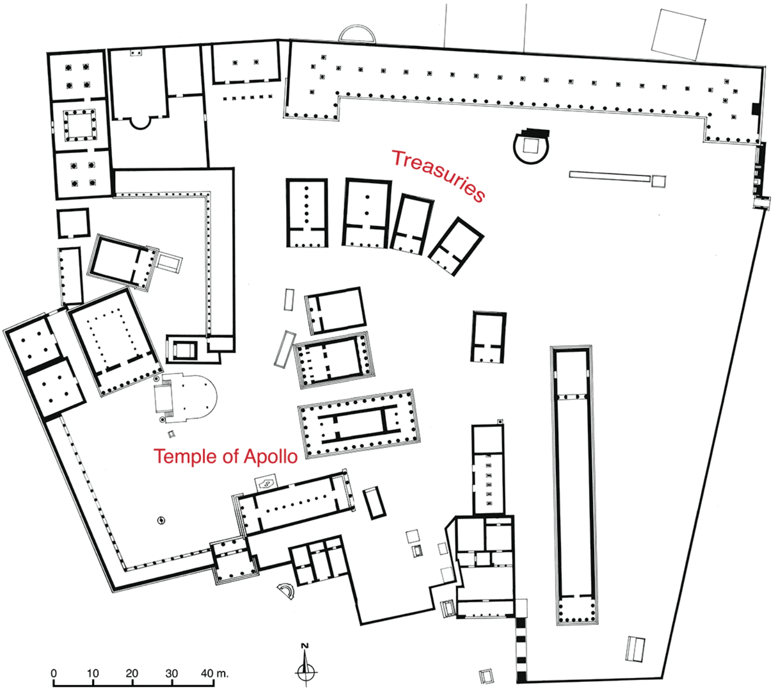


Fig. 7.16. Delos: sanctuary of Apollo. Drawing courtesy Ecole française d'Athènes.

costly offerings were recontextualized: they still reflected well on their dedicants, to be sure, but they also glorified the polis.[79] It is significant in this regard that many treasuries were built in part or in whole from stone or clay imported at great expense, and to no "practical" purpose, from the home territory. The roof of Phase I of the Geloan treasury, for instance, was of Sicilian clay (fig. 7.12); the Siphnian treasury at Delphi had walls of Siphnian marble; the Etruscans of Caere built their treasury at Delphi of Caeretan stone, and so on.[80] In the most literal way possible, these buildings brought a little bit of the polis—its stone or clay, its very *gē*—into the heart of a panhellenic shrine, so that when it was placed in a treasury, a dedication never really left home at all.[81] In effect, the purpose of such a building was not just to store votives but to nationalize them, and with them a dedicant's privileged relationship to the gods. A *thēsauros* is not just a storeroom: it is a frame for costly dedications, a way of diverting elite display in the interest of the state.[82] To this end, architecture does not merely articulate space, it *warps* it, so that Sicily, Latium, or the Cyclades can all coincide with the panhellenic shrine. This imbrication of spatial warping and votive practice is integral to Pindar's metaphorics.

Reading the ode's magnificent prooimion as referencing the (newly built?) porch of the Geloan treasury encourages us to see that Pindar's specific terms of praise for Hagesias—and, indeed, the poem's entire first triad—achieve precisely the same symbolic effects that physical treasuries themselves did at the panhellenic centers. Just as the Sicilian clay revetments of the roof of the Geloan treasury make Gela present at Olympia, so the elements of Pindar's praise merge Olympia and Syracuse as the sites of Hagesias's exceptional achievements, whether we understand the terms Pindar uses (ταμίας and συνοικιστήρ) to designate personal honors or hereditary claims.[83]

As for the "framing" function of treasuries, the first triad imposes both civic and tyrannic frames on Hagesias's victory. It achieves the former implicitly, by making "ungrudging citizens" (ἀφθόνων ἀστῶν, 7) itself the climactic condition for the successful erection of Hagesias's "far-shining porch" and "marvelous hall" of praise.[84] It achieves the latter—the tyrannic framing of Hagesias's achievement—more subtly but still unmistakably. By offering up as a precious "heirloom" of praise the "word" (ἔπος) that Adrastos once spoke over the seer Amphiaraos (12–17), Pindar immediately sets the seer Hagesias in relation to a king and commander (though only in the last triad will Hieron emerge explicitly in this role).[85] Then immediately after the mythic construction of the king-seer dyad, Pindar applies this ancient αἶνος to the present victor:

> τὸ καί
> ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότᾳ πάρεστι Συρακοσίῳ.
> οὔτε δύσηρις ἐὼν οὔτ' ὦν φιλόνικος ἄγαν,
> καὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαις τοῦτό γέ οἱ σαφέως
> μαρτυρήσω· μελίφθογγοι δ' ἐπιτρέψοντι Μοῖσαι. (O.6.17-21)
>
> [The word] which is also at hand for a Syracusan man, master of the revel. Being neither quarrelsome nor too fond of victory, and having sworn a great oath, I will bear witness to this clearly for him. And the honey-voiced Muses will entrust [it to me].

The wording of line 18 seems likewise haunted by the presence of Hieron lurking behind, in relation to whom Hagesias is carefully put in his place; he is not "the Syracusan master" (δεσπότᾳ . . . Συρακοσίῳ), but only "a Syracusan man, master of the *kōmos*" (κώμου δεσπότᾳ)—the *kōmos* that (as we shall see) Hieron himself is asked to receive in the last triad.[86] Next the poetic ego solemnly affirms the applicability of this praise to Hagesias, while insisting that he (the ego) is not "quarrelsome and too competitive"—a disavowal of ambition and overreaching that seems to spill over and apply to the victor as well.[87]

Thus Pindar first constructs the porch of a poetic treasure house constituted by Hagesias's special achievements and status, then draws from it as "ready" or "available praise" (αἶνος ἑτοῖμος) a poetic heirloom or nugget of *sophia*, an ancient ἔπος uttered in mythic time that perfectly suits the present victor.[88] Even the imagery of the final lines of the epode reinforces this conceit of the ancient-spoken αἶνος concretized as a poetic heirloom drawn from the treasure house of song. For here the poet confidently asserts that the Muses "will entrust [it to him]" (ἐπιτρέψοντι, 21) once he has sworn a great oath to affirm its applicability to the victor.[89]

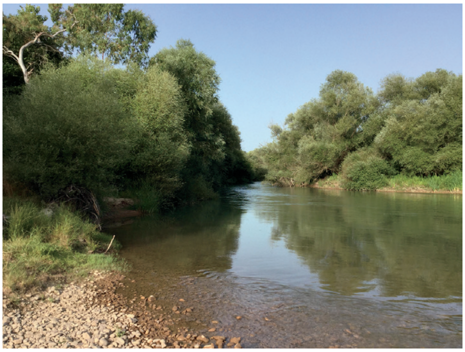
The potent treasury-like effects of the first triad may, in turn, help explain a structural oddity of this part of the song. Gordon Kirkwood notes that it is in fact highly unusual in Pindaric epinikion for the end of the first myth to coincide exactly with the end of the first triad.[90] Carola Greengard speaks to the same anomaly in different terms when she observes that Olympian 6 effectively begins *twice*, starting anew with the invocation of Phintis (Hagesias's mule-cart driver) and a second architectural conceit (opening the gates of song) at the beginning of the second triad.[91] Indeed, the first triad is strikingly end-stopped and complete—a freestanding poetic edifice that contains all (or almost all) the required elements of a full epinikion.[92]

What are we to make of this exceptional autonomy of the ode's first triad? In practical terms, we might be tempted to suggest that the first triad was intended to be detachable for performance or reperformance on its own.[93] But even if we are not willing to countenance separate performance for the first triad, symbolically this part of the poem creates the effect of a perfect little treasure house of praise embedded within the larger structure of the ode. We might be inclined to think of the first triad as simply the prooimion or "porch" for the entire poem, but considered in this light, the marked autonomy of the first triad makes it into a complete architectural structure, though on a smaller scale, within the larger construction of the poem.[94] Once Pindar has completed his prooimial porch and *thalamos* of praise, the poem starts up again at the beginning of the second triad (as Greengard noted), with strongly marked and articulated imagery of journeying.

In other terms, there is a formal analogy between Pindar's strategy and some of the epigrams for other Deinomenid henchmen at Olympia (cited above, p. 226). The Praxiteles dedication—roughly contemporary with Hagesias's poem—is a good example. Just as the first verse of Praxiteles's inscription constitutes a complete dedicatory formula, including the dedicant's name and his ethnic "Syracusan," so the first triad of Olympian 6 would seem to tell us all we need to know of Hagesias, triangulating his status and achievements between Olympia and Syracuse, while also including a kind of implicit poetic signature in its brief Theban myth. And yet, just like Praxiteles's epigram, with its rhetoric of supplementarity, its compulsion to expand on Praxiteles's current and former civic and territorial affiliations (Kamarina and Mantinea in Arkadia, respectively), Olympian 6 compulsively begins again, shifting from static architecture at Olympia to a complex network of roads and journeys that establish the victor's hereditary affiliations with different places throughout the Peloponnese.[95] Given this striking parallelism, it is hard to resist the impression that in both media (dedicatory epigram and epinikion, inscription and dance) the proliferating ethnic and territorial connections are precisely the point: they are meant to figure the lability and multiplicity of civic and geographic identity in the Deinomenids' new world order. We will consider the poem's pervasive thematics of journeying, roads, and movement through space in more detail in the next chapter, but for now we must follow out the elaboration of architectural imagery within Olympian 6.

At the climax of the poem's long central myth, Apollo enjoins his son, "Arise, child, to come here (δεῦρο) to the place that [will be] common to all behind [my] voice" (O.6.62-63). We have already touched on the ambiguous deixis of δεῦρο; next, at the beginning of the poem's fourth triad, the poet narrates the sequel:

> ἵκοντο δ' ὑψηλοῖο πέτραν ἀλίβατον Κρονίου
> ἔνθα οἱ ὤπασε θησαυρὸν δίδυμον
> μαντοσύνας, τόκα μὲν φωνὰν ἀκούειν
> ψευδέων ἄγνωτον, εὖτ' ἂν δὲ θρασυμάχανος ἐλθών
> Ἡρακλέης, σεμνὸν θάλος Ἀλκαϊδᾶν, πατρί
> ἑορτάν τε κτίσῃ πλειστόμβροτον τεθμόν τε μέγιστον ἀέθλων,
> Ζηνὸς ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ βωμῷ τότ' αὖ χρηστήριον θέσθαι κέλευσεν. (O.6.64-70)



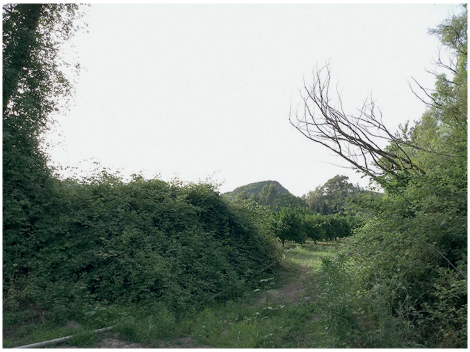


Fig. 7.17. (*left*) Olympia: modern bed of the Alpheios River just south of the sanctuary of Zeus. The riverbed has shifted since antiquity, but this view approximates the ancient. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0). *Fig. 7.18.* (*right*) Olympia: view of the Kronion mount from the Alpheios stream just south of the sanctuary of Zeus. The riverbed has shifted since antiquity, but this view approximates the ancient. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

> They came to the sun-trodden rock of the lofty Kronion [hill], where he [Apollo] bestowed on him [Iamos] a double treasure house of prophecy: on the one hand, at that time to hear the voice ignorant of lies, and, whenever Herakles, bold in contrivance, august shoot of the Alkaidai, had come and founded the festival attended by the most people and the greatest ordinance of contests, then, in turn, he bid him establish an oracle on the highest part of the altar of Zeus.

These lines place the poem's opening *thalamos* within a much larger spatial discourse. Immediately after δεῦρο, they narrate in temporal sequence and in precise detail the topography of a particular part of the Altis. The order of exposition corresponds to the order in which a traveler on foot would espy the components of the Olympian *temenos* while ascending from the Alpheios riverbed, as Iamos does in the poem—an ascent, or *anabasis*, to match the hero's descent, or *katabasis* (καταβαίς), to the river in line 58 (fig. 7.17).[96] High, conspicuous elements appear first, then lower ones gradually come into view. First we hear of the "sun-trodden rock of the high Kronion [hill]" (64), a hilltop visible from a distance (fig. 7.18); then, drawing closer as it were, we encounter the "double treasure house of prophecy" (65), corresponding to the *thēsauroi* overlooking the Altis at the foot of the Kronion hill—and, in particular, to the paired treasuries of Gela and Syracuse, one at the eastern extremity of the terrace, the other near the

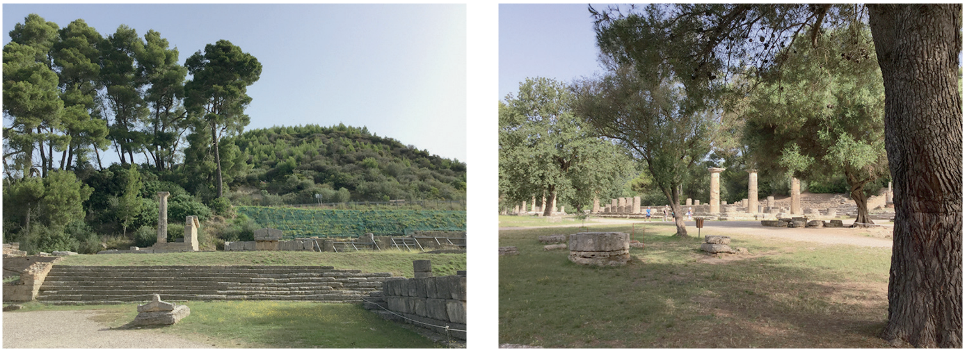


Fig. 7.19. (*left*) Olympia: sanctuary of Zeus, view of the treasury terrace from the southern approach. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0). *Fig. 7.20.* (*right*) Olympia: sanctuary of Zeus, view of the approximate location of the ash altar of Zeus from the southern approach. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

western end (fig. 7.19).[97] Next, we get an elaborate description of Herakles's foundation of the games, pointing us to the location of the early Classical stadium, below the east side of the treasury terrace.[98] Finally, the poem mentions the great ash altar of Zeus, where the Iamids will practice their pyromantic arts for all time (70) (fig. 7.20). Although the precise location of the altar has not been identified archaeologically, it must have stood in the heart of the sanctuary, close to the Pelopeion, somewhere between the later Metroon and temple of Zeus (neither of which was standing when Hagesias won his victory).[99] Thus we proceed from high to low—from the hilltop to the treasury terrace, to the stadium, and finally to the altar—each succeeding to the mind's eye just as they would to a pedestrian drawing near the sanctuary from the low-lying riverbed through a grove of trees. In describing Olympia and our approach to it, Pindar does not envision a plan of the shrine—how could he?—but an ambient, ground-level view.

If, as we have suggested, the poem was intended for reperformance at Olympia itself, then the most likely venue will have been the *theatron*, an open viewing space to the northeast of the later temple of Zeus.[100] This area is perhaps the final destination of the poetic progress tracked in these lines; from here, looking north, as one would do on arriving from the river to the south, the viewer could take in all the monuments that Pindar references. The poem conjures its own venue, such that its formalization of the landscape in terms of pedestrian movement figures, and is figured by, the measured steps of the chorus. With every step, that is, the chorus moves through the very space that its own song describes, reduplicates its own narrative—not through dramatic mimesis, of course, but figurally, by means of tropes. Poetry, measured speech, paces out the Altis as well: literally, in the case of reperformance at the shrine itself, but mostly, no doubt, in an extended or metaphorical sense, when reperformance occurred elsewhere.

The reduplication of narrated and enacted movement in the description of the sanctuary has a direct antecedent in the poem's opening lines. Earlier, the conceit had been that the poem was being laid up in a *thēsauros* of its own creation—so that, in effect, the Deinomenid state had always already framed this particular gift, always already made Hagesias's victory the tyrant's own. Now, Pindar's pedestrian approach works to similar effect: just as the poem provides an architectural frame for itself *qua* dedication, so it provides a spatial setting for itself *qua* performance.

The poet is quite clear in this regard. The very language of the fourth triad circles back to the opening image, focusing and specifying it, for θησαυρὸν δίδυμον, "double treasury" (65), stands in exact metrical responsion with the θαητὸν μέγαρον, "marvelous hall," of line 2. This symmetry secures the identification of the opening architectural image with a *thēsauros*. But it does much more than that. It is necessary, we have been told, to make the façade of this gazed-upon hall "shine from afar" (θέμεν τηλαυγές, 4)—and so it does, flashing through the poem, so to speak, across some sixty lines and down the generations, to frame the gift of prophecy in the architecture of the state. Crudely, responsion figures brilliance, metrical correspondence figures visibility. Like the poem itself, with its architectural prelude, the mantic gift disappears into a *thēsauros*—or, more precisely, two *thēsauroi*—before it is even given.[101]

The key issue of Olympian 6 turns out not to be dedication at all, but the place of the gift, the porch, the treasure house, the sanctuary within a larger network of interrelated spaces. That the poem should be laid up as a gift is important, and building a well-walled porch is important; but what is even more important is the spatial relation that this laying up, this building, establishes between the gift and the rest of the Deinomenid sphere. "It is necessary that the work shine from afar," that it establish itself as a fixed beacon or light source within a larger array. This Pindar achieves through a conjuncture of metrical correspondence and architectural metaphor, mediated by the imperative voice of Apollo and the far-shining façade. Thus the song measures out a *kosmos*, a habitable world; in the next chapter, we will explore it.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Pindar's Transports

Roads, Rivers, and Hodological Space

There is perhaps no other Pindaric ode more interested in linking and connecting diverse places in the Greek mainland and the Greek West than Olympian 6. Part of Pindar's purpose is to overlay a conceptual network—a *kosmēsis*—upon the rocky (πετράεις, O.6.48) and obdurate Greek landscape. Modern readers, conditioned by surveyors' grids and GoogleEarth, might assume that to formalize a landscape is to produce a map or something like it. We learn how to read maps, to shift back and forth between the horizontal, ground-level experience of roadway or shipboard and the vertical, bird's-eye view of the analogic representation; smartphones can even do the toggling for us. As we have seen, however, Pindar was innocent of such technologies. For him, the formalization of landscape proceeded without recourse to the synoptic overview. His poem accomplishes its terrestrial *kosmēsis* by unspooling in time a set of journeys along roads and rivers, both real and metaphorical. The progress from Alpheios to Altis is quintessentially hodological, paradigmatic of a literally pedestrian mode of spatial awareness.[1]

Olympian 6 is, in this regard, of a piece with Pindar's poems for Cyrene, Athens, Rhodes, and elsewhere. Yet the differences, the specific idiosyncrasies, are no less important. Why should Olympian 6, of all the corpus, be so preoccupied with connectivity? Why should it devote so much energy to constructing a dense, supra-polis network linking discrete points in the Peloponnese (Olympia, Pitane, Phaisana, Stymphalos) with ones in Sicily (Syracuse, Aitna)? Addressing these questions will take us deep into early Classical politics and the spatial correlates thereof.

Here the Deinomenid context is crucial. Both Margaret Foster and Kathryn Morgan have connected the grand sweep of Pindar's *kosmēsis* with Hieron's contemporary efforts to found a new city of Aitna and, as Diodorus Siculus tells us, populate it with five thousand settlers from Syracuse and another five thousand from the Peloponnese.[2] Indeed, as Foster has argued, Hagesias himself in his own person both embodies and enacts this merging of peoples (Arkadian and Syracusan) in Hieron's new foundation, and this is what makes him so serviceable as Hieron's seer and Pindar's *laudandus*.[3] This reading is compelling—just as it is compelling to see the panhellenic monuments of Phormis, Praxiteles, and Gelon himself in terms of fifth-century power politics. But it is not incompatible with a different conception of politics, one attuned less to policies and propaganda than to *poleis*, populations, and the "pastoral" government of people in four dimensions. Politics here involves the *kosmēsis* of a Deinomenid sphere: the establishment of meaningful relations between bodies and places across vast distances and multiple generations. Integral to politics in this sense are the spatial imaginary of Olympian 6 and the strategies Pindar employs to construct and order a vast supra-polis space that conforms to the Deinomenids' world-building reach and ambitions. To dance, sing, move through space according to the poet's rhythm—or, for that matter, to find oneself caught up in the spectacle of performance as an onlooker—is to inhabit an extended, hodological landscape. The organizing principle of this landscape is not the coordinate grid of a modern map, but the network of kinship, pilgrimage, and myth that the poet articulates.

These systems Pindar mobilizes are traditional Greek ways of linking discontinuous places. One system works through the fictive kinship of mythological figures, often *genii loci* associated with bodies of water. Herodotus provides a good illustration in his story of how the Thebans, roundly defeated by the Athenians after the fall of the Peisistratid tyrants, consulted the oracle at Delphi on how they might avenge themselves on the Athenians. According to Herodotus,

> But after these things, the Thebans were sending to the god, wishing to punish the Athenians. But the Pythia said that there would not be vengeance from themselves, but she was bidding them, having borne it out to the many-voiced, to ask their nearest (τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι). When, then, the sacred ambassadors returned, they were bearing the oracle out, having made an assembly. But when they learned from them saying "to ask their nearest," the Thebans having heard from them said, "Don't the men of Tanagra and Koroneia and Thespiai live nearest to us? And these men, at any rate, always fight together with us and eagerly help to wage war. Why is it necessary to ask these men? But surely the oracle doesn't mean this." As they were re-

> flecting on such things, some man, having suddenly understood, said, "I think I understand what the oracle wishes to tell us (εἶπε δή κοτε μαθών τις· ἐγώ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον). They say that Thebe and Aegina were daughters of Asopos. Since these were sisters, I think that the god prophesies to us to ask the Aeginetans to become our helpers in exacting vengeance." And since there seemed to be no better opinion than this one expressed, they sent immediately and asked the Aeginetans, summoning them to come to their aid according to the oracle, on the grounds that they were their nearest relatives (ὡς ἐόντων ἀγχιστέων), and the Aeginetans in turn for them asking said that they would send the Aiakidai to help them. But when the Thebans made trial of battle relying on the alliance of the Aiakidai and were harshly treated by the Athenians, the Thebans, having sent again, returned to them the Aiakidai, and asked for men instead. And the Aeginetans, raised up by great prosperity and remembering their ancient hatred for the Athenians, at that time when the Thebans asked, were waging an undeclared war against the Athenians. (Hdt. 5.79-80.2)

The Thebans are stumped at first by the oracle's injunction to "ask their nearest," because they naturally assume the most obvious, spatial meaning of the term; hence they think of the Tanagreans, Koroneians, and people of Thespiai (who are already their military allies). But there is another kind of proximity of connection inscribed in the landscape: a proximity through the kinship of the nymphs Thebe and Aegina, daughters of the river Asopos. This deep temporal and genealogical connection is not readily perceptible to all, but only available to the oracular god and the anonymous Theban citizen (τις) who in public deliberation suddenly understands (δή κοτε μαθών) "what the oracle wishes to say."[4] Pindar himself evokes this same kinship of Thebe and Aegina in several of his Aeginetan odes to affirm the rightness and sincerity of a Theban poet praising Aeginetan athletes (cf. N.4, I.6, I.8).[5] As we shall see, the same pattern is prominent in Olympian 6, where the shared *sophia* of poet and prophet enables a perception of deep genealogical connections inscribed in the landscape that are not readily available to all.

A second traditional way of connecting or organizing supra-polis space in the Greek world is through alignments of cult and theoric or pilgrimage routes.[6] As we will see, Pindar in Olympian 6 engages with all of these different ways of organizing space—the networking of supra-polis space achieved through mythological kinship, cult, and webs of *theōria*. At the same time, Olympian 6 elaborates a complex second-order metacommentary or reflection on such spatial *kosmēsis* embedded in the ode's language and imagery.

The poem is full of journeys and different places. With the first triad, we seem to start at Olympia (Ὀλυμπιονίκας, 4; βωμῷ . . . Διὸς ἐν Πίσᾳ, 5), but the poet quickly adds Syracuse (6) and Thebes (16). When the second triad revs up for its new beginning, it offers us Pindar's most elaborate and extended conceit of a poetic journey to the myth:

> ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων,
> ᾇ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῳ τ' ἐν καθαρᾷ
> βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἵκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
> καὶ γένος· κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλᾶν ὁδὸν ἁγεμονεῦσαι
> ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
> ἐπεὶ δέξαντο· χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς·
> πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον δεῖ σάμερον ἐλθεῖν ἐν ὥρᾳ·
> (O.6.22–28)

> But, O Phintis, yoke for me now the strength of mules, as quickly as possible, so that we may mount the mule cart on a pure/clear/unobstructed road, and I come finally to the very race of men. For those [mules] beyond all others know how to lead along this road, since they received crowns at Olympia. Accordingly, [we] should fling wide the gates of songs for them, and [we] must go to Pitane beside the ford of Eurotas today at the appointed time.

These lines inextricably fuse or interweave the real and the metaphorical, as the literal prize-winning mules are recruited to carry the narrator along the "pure road" of song to the "very race of men."[7] And, as often with Pindar's road or journeying imagery framing the myth, space figures time; but only here does the poet tell us that explicitly. Again we seem to start from Olympia, where the mules won their victory, and travel to Pitane "on the ford of Eurotas" (28)—Pitane, whose double identity as Spartan village and nymph is neatly finessed by the relative pronoun ἅ that introduces the myth.[8]

Within the myth and beyond, the poem offers us a sequence of places linked by the journeying of heroic figures, as of the poet himself from topic to topic: from Olympia to Pitane in Sparta, to the Alpheios on the border of Elis and Arkadia, back to Olympia, and thence to Stymphalos in northeastern Arkadia. The myth and the poem thereby trace repeated circling loops within the Peloponnese, a circuit to which the poet calls our attention by embedding mention of the "twelfth lap" of the racecourse in the midst of his Peloponnesian peregrinations (75–76).

Then, initiating the poem's final sequence of journeys, the poet, with sudden renewed inspiration, realizes that he too is connected to Arkadian Stymphalos by kinship ties, since the Stymphalian nymph Metope is mother to Pindar's "mother" Thebe—Thebe the spring whose water Pindar will imbibe as he "weaves" or "plaits a variegated hymn for fighting men" (82–87).[9] Thus the poet locates himself in Thebes, but proceeds immediately to give instructions to a certain Aineas (plausibly identified by a scholiast as the *chorodidaskalos*)[10] for the performance of the ode. These instructions conjure up all the significant places that have figured in the poem and link them again via distinctive cults and traditional local associations:

ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἥραν Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι,
γνῶναι τ' ἔπειτ', ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέσιν
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, Βοιωτίαν ὗν. ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός,
ἠυκόμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν·

εἶπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας·
τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν
καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος. ἁδύλογοι δέ νιν
λύραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι. (O.6.87-97)

> Now urge on your companions, Aineas, first to shout aloud Hera Parthenia and then to find out if with true words we escape the old reproach, Boiotian swine. For you are an upright messenger, message stick of the beautiful-haired Muses, sweet mixing bowl of loud-sounding songs. And tell [them] to remember Syracuse and Ortygia, which Hieron administers with pure scepter, planning appropriate things, as he tends to red-footed Demeter and the festival of her daughter with white horses, and the power of Zeus Aitnaios. Sweet-speaking lyres and songs know him.

According to Pausanias (8.22.2), Hera Parthenia was worshipped at Stymphalos in Arkadia, while the ancient slur "Boiotian swine" reminds us that the poet is from Thebes. Then, after the elaborate metaphor of lines 90–91 (to which we will return), the poet bids Aineas to tell his companions (presumably the chorus) "to remember Syracuse and Ortygia." The mention of the latter enables the poet in turn to bring in Hieron, in a gesture that is unparalleled in epinikion. For here Pindar includes extensive mention and praise of another individual besides the current victor, who is neither a family member, a trainer, nor the person who commissioned the ode.[11] Significantly, Hieron is linked to the worship of Demeter and Persephone, an association that reminds us of his family's status as hereditary hierophants of the chthonic goddesses, in a cult that the Deinomenids brought from Gela to Syracuse.[12] Last of all, the mention of Zeus Aitnaios adds the volcano and potentially the newly founded city of Aitna as well to this dense catalogue of places.

As the poem continues with Hieron as its subject, it offers us one final voyage, as the poet prays with a respectful optative:

> σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις Ἁγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον
> οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ' ἀπὸ Στυμφαλίων τειχέων ποτινισόμενον,
> ματέρ' εὐμήλοιο λείποντ' Ἀρκαδίας. (O.6.98-100)

> May he with loving kindness receive the revel of Hagesias, coming from home to home, from the walls of Stymphalos, leaving the mother of Arkadia rich in flocks.

Here the time frame shifts, and the poet anticipates the movement of Hagesias's *kōmos* from Stymphalos to Syracuse, from "home to home." But what is striking and highly unusual in these lines is that Hieron is cast in the role conventionally occupied by a place or a local divinity, of "receiving the *kōmos*."[13] Certain scholars have found this positioning of Hieron so aberrant that they have resorted to alternative interpretations of these lines to remove him from that role; thus H. Friis Johansen argued that νιν in line 96 must be Ortygia, so that Ortygia is the implied subject of δέξαιτο (98). Gregory Hutchinson likewise prefers to understand νιν as Syracuse but takes the quasi-divinized χρόνος (97) as subject of both optatives, so that it is time itself that is asked to receive Hagesias's *kōmos*.[14] But neither Ortygia/Syracuse nor time is a plausible subject for all the statements and wishes in this run of lines.[15] The most natural antecedent of νιν is Hieron, and we would contend that his filling the role of a civic divinity or a place is precisely the point.[16] Here at the end of the ode, Hieron himself becomes the center or "zero milestone" around whom all the poem's spaces organize themselves, its lines bend, and its journeys converge. Here we see in a virtual way—and on a much grander scale—what we observed in chapter 4 for the altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens in relation to Pindar's dithyramb fr. 75. So is this about Olympia, or is it about Syracuse? Both. The work of the poem is precisely to merge and meld these two places, just as a treasury is a proxy, even a synecdoche, for Sicily on the Greek mainland. One might call the result Pindar's own epichoric irony.

Vision, "Light Effects," and Voice

In retracing the poem's journeys, we have noted how Pindar repeatedly and effectively deploys relations of mythological kinship and cult networks to link different places. In this section, we want to consider in more detail the perceptual apparatus or sensorium that links or connects spaces in Olympian 6. Here comparison with the striking "light effects" in two epinikia composed for Hieron will suggest that the linkage of all these discontinuous places is of special interest to the poet's patrons, while also clarifying by contrast what is distinctive to Pindar's spatial sensorium in Olympian 6.

We might compare the remarkable range of places knitted together or fused in Olympian 6 to the spatial scope and dynamics of two more or less contemporary odes for Hieron, Olympian 1 and Bacchylides's Third Ode. Olympian 1, for Hieron's first single-horse victory at Olympia in 476 BCE, effectively merges or fuses the two places Syracuse and Olympia, as well as conjuring the Eastern settings of Sipylos and Lydia within the myth. This it does, as Lucia Athanassaki has demonstrated, through a complex sequence of deictic markers and the chiastic alternation of second-person address and third-person narrative for Pelops and Hieron as the ode progresses. As Athanassaki observes, the poet's

> spatio-temporal transition from Syracuse to Olympia in the mythic narrative is not to be understood as a journey but rather as an abrupt shift in role-playing in two consecutive but different acts that, with the exception of the epinician speaker, feature different characters and take place at different locales. In performative terms, the high degree of dramatization in the mythical section was probably the only means available to the choral poet to indicate the shift of scene from the symposium in Syracuse to the embedded scene at the Alpheus, but modern stage practice can illustrate the nature of

> the speaker's transition. A fairly simple yet effective way to signal the shift to a new spatio-temporal realm on a modern stage would be to resort to light effects.[17]

Athanassaki's analogy to stage "light effects" is wonderfully apt, since, as she notes, it is indeed the radiant light of κλέος that effects the magical transitions from place to place, and from present to mythic time, within Olympian 1.[18] Thus in the epode of the first triad, the transition to the myth:

λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ· (O.1.23-24)

> And his [Hieron's] fame shines in the settlement of Lydian Pelops, populated by noble men.

Here, immediately after the poem's first specification that Hieron is Syracusan (before this, we had only the broader reference to his ruling over all of Sicily, O.1.12-13), we are told that his fame shines at Olympia (significantly designated as the settlement of Lydian Pelops);[19] from there the poem segues straight into the myth with the characteristic relative pronoun τοῦ (O.1.25). Then, again, at the beginning of the fourth triad, Pindar briskly concludes the mythic narrative and transitions to the present of periodic cult offerings to Pelops at his tomb at Olympia:

νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις
ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται,
Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς,
τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ· τὸ δὲ κλέος
τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις
Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται . . . (O.1.90-95)

> But now he is mixed with shining blood offerings, reclining upon the way of Alpheios, having a much-visited tomb beside the altar most thronged with strangers. And the fame of Pelops shines from far away in the racecourses of the Olympiads, where the strength of feet is contested . . .

As Athanassaki notes, it is only with τηλόθεν at line 94 that we suddenly, abruptly realize that the speaker and deictic center is no longer located at Olympia, but "far away," with Hieron in Syracuse. So here again, the light shining forth from κλέος (of Pelops, or of the Olympiads)[20] magically effects the transport from place to place, like a cinematic dissolve.

Bacchylides outdoes Pindar's subtle "light effects" in his Third Ode for Hieron's long-awaited Olympic chariot victory in 468 BCE. Here, these effects cluster with such concentration and intensity at the beginning of the ode that the effect is simply dizzying (and requires extensive quotation to track):

Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν
Δ[ά]ματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε Κούραν
ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, θοάς τ' Ὀ-
   λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἱέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς.

σεύον]το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχῳ τε Νικᾷ
σὺν Ἀγ]λαΐᾳ τε παρ' εὐρυδίναν
Ἀλφεόν, τόθι] Δεινομένεος ἔθηκαν
   ὄλβιον τ[έκος στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι·

θρόησε δὲ λ[αὸς
   ἆ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνήρ,
ὃς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν
   πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας
οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμ-
   φαρέϊ κρύπτειν σκότῳ.

βρύει μὲν ἱερὰ βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς,
βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυιαί·
λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός
   ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων

πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγιστον ἄλσος
Φοίβου παρὰ Κασταλίας ῥεέθροις
Δελφοὶ διέπουσι. θεὸν, θ[εό]ν τις
   ἀγλαϊζέθὢ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων· (Bacch. 3.1-22)

Hymn Demeter, who rules over Sicily with the best crop, and hymn violet-crowned Kore, Kleio with sweet gifts, and hymn the swift Olympic-running horses of Hieron. For they rushed together with supreme Victory and the splendor of festivity beside the broadly whirling Alpheios, where they caused Deinomenes's son to prosper so that he won garlands. And the . . . crowd shouted . . . , "Ah thrice-blessed man, who, having been allotted from Zeus the honor of ruling over the greatest number of Hellenes, knows not to hide his towered wealth with black-cloaked darkness. The shrines teem with

> festivals in which bulls are sacrificed, and the streets teem with hospitality. And gold shines forth from the glintings of richly ornamented tripods set up on high before the temple, where the Delphians oversee the greatest grove of Phoibos beside the streams of Kastalia. God, god let a man glorify, for this is the best of prosperities.

After the immediate mention of Sicily,[21] we seem to be at Olympia, where Hieron's chariot team rushes "beside the Alpheios" and the crowd shouts out acclaim. Then, through the emphatically visual image that Hieron "knows not to hide his towered wealth with black-cloaked darkness," we shift abruptly from the contests at Olympia to city streets teeming with festivities and hospitality (15–16).[22] Commentators consistently assume that these lines represent the civic celebration of victory back in Syracuse, but in fact the setting is entirely generic; they could apply to any Sicilian city under Hieron's sway—Syracuse, Aitna, wherever.[23] Then suddenly and imperceptibly with λάμπει δ' (17), the scene dissolves again, as we are transported via the glitterings of the gold of Hieron's and Gelon's magnificent tripod dedications, "set up and elaborately worked on high," to Delphi and Apollo's temple there.[24] The workings of these two odes suggest that Hieron had a particular interest in the imagined merging of a vast if discontinuous supra-polis space to register the extent of his power and influence.

These tyrannic light effects may seem similar to those analyzed in chapter 3 (in, e.g., O.7, P.5, N.3, and I.4), but those of Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 3 are stranger still. In the poems considered earlier, light arcs across great distances, spreading the victor's fame abroad, even as it maps out lines of grace and power (P.5, O.7). In other odes, light imagery or visual effects reach out to and incorporate multiple far-off locations within the imaginary or diegetic space of the poem in performance (I.4, N.3). But in all these odes, as we have seen, the victor and his community are ultimately rooted in a particular place (Rhodes in O.7, Thebes in I.4, Aegina in N.3), even as Pindar's poetry affords them briefly the opportunity to travel in fantasy to the ends of the earth.

In Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 3, the dissolve or collapse between places is more seamless and abrupt and is much more directly connected to the tyrant Hieron than mediated through the poet's song. This is what we have called the "warping" of space under tyrannic influence. Thus in Bacchylides's Third Ode, this vertiginously rapid dissolve of one place into another is effected directly by the actions and possessions of the tyrant with no mediation by the poet: Hieron's horses, Hieron's sacrifices and hospitality, Hieron's (and Gelon's) glittering tripod dedications at Delphi.[25] This sequence in Bacchylides 3 helps us see that even in Pindar, with his generally more obtrusive poetic ego, Hieron's "fame" in Olympian 1 seems to preexist and "shine out" at Olympia even before the ego directs his heart "to take the Dorian lyre from its peg," as if it is an inspiration for the poet's "sweetest thoughts" rather than a result of them. Likewise, the "fame of Pelops," which finesses the dissolve back from Olympia to Syracuse in the last triad, shines from his tomb with its "radiant blood offerings." So horse victory and hero cult collapse space even as they superimpose Hieron and Pelops.

Olympian 6 participates in this imaginative merging of a vast, discontinuous space, but through a combination of visual and vocal effects somewhat different again from those of Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 3. We might say that there are two different kinds of vision or light effects operative in Olympian 6, whose different-range effects are mediated by voice. First, we have the view of the metaphorical building of the poem's opening with its "far-shining façade" (akin to the "light far-shining" from Pindar's "temple of song" in the last triad of Nemean 3). This opening conceit is all about visibility—bright light arcing across long distances of space and of the poem itself, where the θαητὸν μέγαρον of the opening is caught up again as θησαυρὸν δίδυμον more than sixty lines later.[26] But the kind of synoptic vision that can see bright monuments at a distance is unusual in Olympian 6 and is rarely vouchsafed to human beings.[27] Although the poem contains a set of high places—rocky Pytho, the location of Apollo's oracle (37–38, 47–48); the lofty, sun-trodden Kronion hill (64); and Mount Kyllene, haunt of Hermes (77)—these are not generally places of synoptic vision, since we don't get to see from the top of them. Rather, the view in the poem seems generally to be not from their peaks but from their foot, from the ground level of bodies journeying through space. After the opening image, only Apollo is endowed with a kind of preternatural vision that arcs across space and enables swift movement between places; thus he is designated as the "bow-bearing watcher of god-built Delos" (τοξοφόρον Δάλου θεοδμάτας σκοπόν, 59) at the moment Iamos invokes him in prayer, capable of instantaneously perceiving and responding to his son (61–62).[28]

In contrast, we encounter very different "light effects" (we might even say a "light show") within the myth of Olympian 6. These much-admired "light effects" are at their most dazzling and showy precisely when Iamos and the poem itself are stuck in the "boundless brake." Here we get the striking visual contrasts of the silver pitcher and the "yellow and purple" girdle Evadne sheds to give birth, glowing "under a dark blue bush" (39–41), and here we get the breathtaking light show of the infant body bathed in "yellow and purple" beams of sunlight filtered through violets or pansies (54–56).[29] The difference perhaps is between light flashing from afar, as in the poem's opening πρόσωπον and the tomb of Pelops in Olympian 1, and light described with the emphasis less on the source than on what it colors—the difference at the movies between projector and screen, as it were. It is also about perception at very close range, a kind of "tactile viewing," which even allows us to feel the "soft, delicate" texture of the baby's skin (ἁβρὸν σῶμα, 55–56).[30]

But this extremely close, "tactile viewing" goes together with something distinctly odd about the place where the baby is left. In radical contrast to all the named places linked by mythological genealogies, cults, roads, and rivers with which the ode bristles is the non-place where Evadne bears her son and leaves him "on the ground" (39–47). We assume that this is a place near water, since she has come with a pitcher (40), but Pindar gives us no specifications beyond "a dark copse" (λόχμας ὑπὸ κυανέας, 40) and "the ground" (χαμαί, 45). Again, when we return to Iamos's hiding place after the narrative of Aipytos's bustling return from Delphi and search for the baby (now five days old), it is merely "a bed of reeds in a boundless (or impassable) thicket" (κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατιᾷ τ᾽ ἐν ἀπειρίτῳ, 54).[31]

The key word here is ἀπειρίτῳ (Bergk's/Heyne's correction for the manuscripts' unmetrical ἀπειράτῳ), whether we understand it to mean "vast" or "boundless" (as a lengthened form of ἄπειρος) or as something "one cannot get around, impassable" (from ἀ-περι-ιτος).[32] The point is that there are no roads or means of getting through, so that in the poem's hodological terms this really is a non-place. Here, the narrative itself seems to get stuck or stall for much of the third triad. For it is a striking feature of the mythic narrative that we are never told how the baby gets out of the "boundless brake," although scholars are very ready to supply this sequence in their paraphrases.[33] But it is important to respect the narrative economy of the myth, with its gaps and ellipses as well as its elaborate specificities of place and of story.

At the same time, insofar as the myth of Olympian 6 stages simultaneously mythic and metaphorical, poetic journeys, it is also weirdly the poet's own project of spatial *kosmēsis* and ordering that seems to be threatened or stalled here in the "boundless" or "pathless brake." We might even say that it is the pyrotechnic light effects here that contribute to our stuckness (rather than magically, instantaneously transporting us from place to place, as in Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 3), as we and the poem itself stand mesmerized by the light show and unable to move on.[34]

What finally liberates Iamos—and the poem itself—from this trackless wilderness is his mother's speech act of naming, with the phrase "this immortal name" (τοῦτ' ὄνυμ' ἀθάνατον, 57) triumphantly breaking free, with dramatic enjambment at the beginning of epode Γ′.[35] The functioning of voice and naming or performative utterance is one that repeats throughout the poem, for it is in fact voice—prophetic or poetic voice, functioning at the level of mythic narrative or poetic progress, respectively—that over and over again guides the characters or serves to connect disjunct places in Olympian 6. In contrast to the "light effects" of Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 3, voice predominates as a sensory system for navigating or negotiating space in Olympian 6. This goes along with the fact that the perception of voice and sound occupies the mid-range space between the perception of "far-shining" objects arcing across immense distances and the too-close viewing of the "tactile eye." Voice is a sensory technology suited to the hodological spaces and projects of the poem.

This is perhaps because Olympian 6 is composed not for Hieron himself, but for his *mantis* Hagesias, a member of the Iamid clan of itinerant hereditary seers. Or to put it in more general terms, in contrast to Olympian 1 or Bacchylides 3, where the tyrant himself is aligned with the magical collapse of space through visual effects, his henchmen are all "foot soldiers," as it were, pedestrian travelers moving serially from place to place and ethnicity to ethnicity within a deterritorialized Deinomenid *oikoumenē* (as in their dedicatory inscriptions).

Thus, in the first triad the poetic word (αἶνος, 12; ἔπος, 16) transports us suddenly to Thebes, while the poet's elaborate address and command to Phintis at the beginning of the second triad set us on the road to the myth, with all its specific named places. The third triad in turn is framed by the prophetic voice of Apollo, first mediated through Aipytos's report of the Delphic oracle (49–52), then quoted directly in Apollo's marvelous, uncanny command to his son, "Come here . . . behind [my] voice" (62–63). The fourth triad is likewise framed by authoritative voice or speech, with Apollo's voice leading Iamos to the lofty Kronion hill and there bestowing on him the power "to hear a voice ignorant of lies" as one form of seercraft (64–67), while this triad ends with one of Pindar's most elaborate conceits for inspiration whetting or sharpening the poet's tongue, as a prelude to the linkage of Stymphalos and Thebes through their kindred water nymphs (82–87). Finally, the fifth triad enacts a tour-de-force stacking or fusion of disparate places through the poet's address to Aineas, with the command to "urge his companions to shout aloud" (ὄτρυνον . . . κελαδῆσαι, 87–88) and then to "tell them to remember" (εἶπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι, 92).

The one place where these two systems (vision and voice) effectively meet and merge is at the climax of the poem's myth, through Apollo's gift to Iamos of a "double treasury of seercraft":

> τόκα μὲν φωνὰν ἀκούειν
> ψευδέων ἄγνωτον, εὖτ' ἂν δὲ θρασυμάχανος ἐλθὼν
> Ἡρακλέης, σεμνὸν θάλος Ἀλκαϊδᾶν, πατρί
> ἑορτάν τε κτίσῃ πλειστόμβροτον τεθμόν τε μέγιστον ἀέθλων,
> Ζηνὸς ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ βωμῷ τότ' αὖ χρηστήριον θέσθαι κέλευσεν.
> (O.6.66-70)

> On the one hand, at that time to hear the voice ignorant of lies, and, whenever Herakles, bold in contrivance, august shoot of the Alkaidai, had come and founded the festival attended by the most people and the greatest ordinance of contests, then in turn, he bid him establish an oracle on the highest part of the altar of Zeus.

This union or cooperation of the two sensory systems seems to have everything to do with the Iamids' unique hereditary endowments. Their mantic practice at the high altar of Zeus was empyromancy, which may have operated by observing the colors and movement of the flames or, if we can trust the report of a late source preserved in a scholiast to Olympian 6, by reading the cracks formed when skins of sacrificial animals were burnt on the fire.[36] At the same time, it was apparently the case that only one Iamid in a generation was installed as prophet at the top of Zeus's ash altar at Olympia; all the other members of this prominent and widely dispersed clan of seers were, in Flower's phrase, "migrant charismatic specialists."[37] Presumably, in the terms of Olympian 6, each of these wandering seers carried around with him the ability to hear a prophetic "voice ignorant of lies" as his own mobile treasury of *mantosunē*, while the Iamid installed at Olympia practiced the reading of visual signs.[38] Thus Iamos's "double treasury" corresponds to voice and vision, systems that align in turn with the human world of roads and journeying and the divine prerogative of synoptic viewing from a fixed location, respectively.

Technologies of Transport

We have seen how vision and particularly voice serve as means of navigating and connecting spaces and places in Olympian 6, sensory systems that link Hagesias's ode with the construction of Deinomenid space in other contemporary epinikia composed for Hieron (O.1, Bacch. 3). In this last section, we would like to consider another system for navigating or negotiating places that seems distinctive to Olympian 6, and offers us Pindar's second-order meditation on space, place, and their representation in song. For this, our final pass, we will approach this system indirectly, starting from a consideration of repeated shapes and geometric figures within the imagery of Olympian 6. If we pull back from the poem's journeys and try to imagine them in space, they form a repeated circling loop, starting at Olympia, circling through the Peloponnese (as we have noted), thence to Thebes, and then across the Ionian Sea to Sicily in the poem's final triad. And in addition to the mention of the racecourse in lines 75–76, Pindar builds into the poem a second image of that looping, circling motion around a center as a kind of compressed figure for the hodological spaces and trajectory of the ode. For embedded in the midst of his instructions to the *chorodidaskalos* Aineas we find these terms of praise:

> ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός,
> ἠυκόμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν·
> (O.6.90-91)
>
> You are an upright messenger, message stick of the beautiful-haired Muses,
> sweet mixing bowl of loud-sounding songs.

The basic meaning of *skutalē* was "staff" or "club," and the word could also be used for other objects of similar shape—a snake, an elongated fish, a fingerbone.[39] By the fifth century BCE the *skutalē* was particularly identified with the staff carried by Spartan heralds (σκυτάλα Λακωνικά, Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 991–92), and from there it seems to have developed the meaning of a Spartan "dispatch" or "message" as well (Thuc. 1.131.1; Xenophon, *History of Greece* 3.3.8). Much later ancient sources describe in detail the use of the *skutalē* as a Lakonian message stick that enabled the sending of coded messages. This was done, according to Plutarch and Aulus Gellius, by writing vertically along a leather strip wound tightly around a *skutalē* of a certain girth; the message could only be decoded by a receiver who possessed a matching stick of identical size upon receipt of the leather tape.[40] Several scholars (going back to J. H. Leopold in 1900) have challenged the reality of the *skutalē* as a cryptographic device, suggesting that this was simply the fantasy of later writers and scholars trying to make sense of obscure references to the *skutalē* in earlier sources.[41] But even if we reject as later fantasy the use of the *skutalē* as an elaborate coding system, we have several references in authors of the Classical period that link together the *skutalē*, leather, and writing.[42] On the basis of this evidence, Lilian Jeffery concludes:

> We do not know how early the Spartans adopted this particular method of coding; σκυτάλη is used simply for a dispatch, without further details, by writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, and the explanations of the stick and leather, and the coding system, all come from late writers. It seems at least possible, or even likely, that in using these materials the conservative Spartans were merely retaining a practice which had been normal in Greece generally, of writing messages on leather rolls, because leather was then the normal writing-material, and winding them round a stick for transport. When Pindar called the leader of his chorus σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν (*Ol.* vi. 154), the dispatch staff of the Muses, he may not have had only the Spartan practice in mind; perhaps he was deliberately using a word with archaic associations to describe the Muses' message.[43]

We are inclined to accept Jeffery's tentative reconstruction, but it should be emphasized that the positivist reality of the Spartan code system is not our concern. In fact, we simply have no way of knowing how early this fantasy of Spartan cryptography developed, and whether it could have played a role in Pindar's choice of image here. Yet even on Jeffery's more conservative model, we have a message written on leather that is then wound around the *skutalē* for transport; on arrival, presumably, the leather strip must be unwound so the message can be read.[44] The circling of the leather tape around the upright stick offers us an image of the looping, circling journey through the places of Greece and Sicily that the poem performs, an analogy made clear by the poet's careful embedding of the image within a whole rapid itinerary of stacked places, their cults, and associations—Hera Parthenia (Stymphalos), Boiotian swine (Thebes)—*skutalē* image—Syracuse, Ortygia, Demeter and Persephone (Gela, Syracuse), Zeus Aitnaios (Aitna).

Furthermore, in the context of Olympian 6 as a whole, it is tempting to recognize a visual echo of the columns of the proem in the upright of the *skutalē* stick, an association for which the poet primes us by his polyvalent use of ὀρθός at O.6.90 (Aineas is a "true or accurate messenger" but also an "upright or upstanding" one). This image is then immediately repeated in the "krater of loud-sounding songs." What, after all, makes a krater "loud-sounding"? It is presumably the vertical of the ladle knocking against the walls of the vessel as the wine and water are mixed together and the drinks doled out.

Yet this visual echo of a vertical stick or column surrounded by a circling band of leather or looping of journeys only becomes clear in the poem's closing lines, with a striking recurrence of the image:

> δέσποτα ποντόμεδον, εὐθὺν δὲ πλόον καμάτων
> ἐκτὸς ἐόντα δίδοι, χρυσαλακάτοιο πόσις
> Ἀμφιτρίτας, ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος. (O.6.103-5)
>
> Lord who rule over the sea, grant that there be a straight sailing outside of toils, husband of gold-spindled Amphitrite, and exalt the delightful bloom of my hymns.

As we set out again for Sicily from the Peloponnese, with Hagesias's *kōmos* traveling "from home to home," Pindar prays to the lord who rules the sea for a "straight voyage outside of toils" that is both literal and metaphorical—the journey to Sicily and the "voyage" of Hagesias's life. Poseidon is not named but designated instead as "husband of Amphitrite with her golden spindle" (or "distaff"). Commentators and scholars have paid scant attention to Amphitrite's epithet, regarding it as simply conventional or ornamental.[45] D. S. Carne-Ross alone noted that the "gold" of χρυσαλακάτοιο forms a ring with the very first word of the poem, recalling the splendid golden columns of the opening conceit.[46] We would add to Carne-Ross's association that a spindle—or a distaff (since ἠλακάτη seems to be used promiscuously for both)—is another vertical stick or column around which the wool winds in circles as it is spun into yarn.[47] Thus the poem's final lines, by deliberately juxtaposing a "straight voyage" with the whirling spindle as an upright shaft encircled by yarn, magically collapse the straight and the circular/spiral that have been the poem's ruling geometric figures, even as they play with scale in the modest spindle set against the vastness of the sea.[48]

The analogy between column and *skutalē* only becomes clear at the end: *skutalē* is like ladle is like spindle is like column, and so we come full circle.

Crucially, it is only when we do so that the full significance of the initial image becomes apparent: we decipher the meaning of Pindar's metaphors only when we place them in juxtaposition, only when their linear, serial presentation in song folds back upon itself. The column is like the spindle because both are of gold; because the spindle is also like a *skutalē*, the implication is that the column is like the *skutalē* as well. The link, however, is indirect, an effect of the progressive accretion of metaphors in juxtaposition.

These images that repeat form or shape on different scales, linking the poem's opening columns to the upright of *skutalē*, ladle, and spindle or distaff, invite us in turn to consider these objects together. What connects a *thēsauros* and a *skutalē*? They are both "technologies of transport," by which we mean special objects that enact journeys or enable the superimposition of two places onto each other.[49] The treasury, as we have seen, does this symbolically by "framing the gift," ensuring that elite dedications at the panhellenic sanctuaries never really leave home at all—or that they occupy two places at once. The *skutalē* in reality enables the seemingly magical conveyance of a message over long distances, superimposing the place of the sender and that of the recipient. Through these significant artifacts and others like them, Olympian 6 ultimately achieves a fusion or collapse into each other of architecture/objects and roads or journeys. Scholars have long been obsessed with dualities and doublets in the poem, but in this case at least, the two pervasive image systems of the ode—architecture and journeying—effectively merge into one.[50]

Indeed, the poem contains or evokes other "technologies of transport" that range from the mundane to the numinous. A mule cart was one such technology, and this is perhaps why Pindar affords the mule cart such prominence in the elaborate conceit that opens the second triad. More allusively, the last triad may point us to the Deinomenid family ἵερα when Hieron's name appears closely linked to the cult of Demeter and Persephone (93–95).[51] As we know from Herodotus, these sacred objects also served as a quasi-magical technology of transport when the Deinomenid ancestor Telines deployed them to lead back to Gela under safe conduct a disaffected faction that had withdrawn to Maktorion after being defeated in civil strife (Hdt. 7.153.2-4).[52] As reward for this civic service, the family became hereditary hierophants of the chthonic gods and (presumably) keepers of the *hiera*. And as modern scholars argue, Herodotus (and perhaps Gelon himself) went on to represent Gelon's later leading back of the Gamoroi to Syracuse as a kind of reenactment of Telines's original feat.[53] However that may be, Gelon seems to have transported the *hiera* from Gela to Syracuse, where he founded an important cult of Demeter and Persephone.[54] Hieron himself may have been named for these precious talismanic objects that undergirt the family's power and bound together the cities they ruled; Pindar at least found the pun on Hieron and *hiera* irresistible.[55] This, then, is Pindar's second-order meditation on how one represents space—sacred space, hodological space—and how certain precious objects function to link or merge places together. Through the *hiera*, this turns out to have everything to do with the conceptualization of Deinomenid imperial rule.

In light of this pervasive collapse of the two categories artifact/architecture and roads or journeys in Olympian 6, it is tempting to see the same play or preoccupation in another more or less contemporary Pindaric composition for Hieron, this one a hyporcheme:[56]

> Σύνες ὅ τοι λέγω,
> ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε
> πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας·
>
> * * *
>
> νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται στρατῶν,
> ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται,
> ἀκλεὴς ⟨δ'⟩ ἔβα. (frr. 105a, b SM)
>
> You understand what I say, father named for holy *hiera*, founder of Aitna. . . . For among the Scythian nomads, he wanders far from the throng who does not possess a house borne on a wagon, and he goes without fame.

We are told that the opening lines represent the beginning of the song, and the whole poem seems to have been well enough known in Athens more than fifty years later for Aristophanes to parody it extensively in his *Birds*.[57] In the first three lines, Pindar puns explicitly on Hieron's name and the Deinomenid family *hiera*, while also implicitly stacking or fusing together through Hieron himself and these cult objects the three Sicilian cities where Deinomenids held sway—Gela and Syracuse connected through the *hiera*, and now also Aitna, founded by Hieron and where he hoped in due course to receive the oikist's hero cult.[58]

We have just one more snippet that certainly belongs to this song (fr. 105b).[59] We do not know what—or how much—intervened, or what the larger context was for the mention of Scythian nomads, so any interpretation of these lines is necessarily speculative. Carol Dougherty offers a brilliant reading of these two snippets as mapping a contrast between the fixity of Hieron's prospective hero cult at the center of the city he founded and the endless nomadic mobility of the Scythians, who, as we know from Herodotus, in the Greek imagination lacked cities and buried their kings in secret locations at the furthest margins of their subject territory.[60] This structuralist reading, inspired by François Hartog's analysis of Herodotus's Scythians, is indeed seductive, but in light of the dynamics we have tracked in Olympian 6, we would suggest that Pindar may be deploying the Scythians paradoxically here as a *positive* model or analogy for the unconventional "nomadic" quality of Hieron's rule, as for the poetry that celebrated it.[61] For fr. 105b in fact describes two kinds of wandering, positive and negative: the Scythians as a group or community are nomadic (νομάδεσσι), but a generic he "wanders," cast out from their "throng" (ἀλᾶται στρατῶν), because he does not possess "a house borne on a wagon" (ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον).[62] The scholia to Aristophanes, who quote these lines, explain the situation: this hapless figure without a "mobile home" is dishonored and left behind alone when the Scythians pursue their nomadic itinerary.[63] He is thus completely isolated and "goes without *kleos*." So it seems that an ἀμαξοφόρητος οἶκος is the prerequisite for community and fame, and here we might read this mobile home as a figure for Hieron's own deterritorialized, supra-polis sway; the contrast with Cyrene, where ancestral Nomads stand in dialectical opposition to the *astu* and the royal house, is telling. But of course an ἀμαξοφόρητος οἶκος is also a "mobile treasury" and as such perfectly captures the merging of place/architecture and wayfaring that characterizes Olympian 6.[64] Olympian 6 itself is the mobile treasury of song—the mule cart that is also an *oikos*—that secures the enduring fame of Hagesias and Hieron.[65]

Or, more accurately, the ultimate "technology of transport" or mobile treasury is the chorus performing Olympian 6. This is already implicit in the *skutalē* image, for if the *chorodidaskalos* is the stick, the singing, dancing bodies of the choreuts circling round him serve the function of the leather tape, which, when unwound, make the words of the poem "legible" in performance.[66] Indeed, we can unpack further the implications of this particular metaphorical technology. The chorus in dance materializes the poem such that performance is troped as reading or decoding: the linear sequence of 729 words only makes sense when "unwound" in the dance. At the same time, we have noted the troping or superimposition of poetic structure and topographic structure throughout the ode. Through the poem's two systems of imagery (architecture and roads/journeys), the chorus in performance conjures or embodies both places and the journeys or routes taken. It is the chorus itself, then, that in the process of singing and dancing collapses the distinction between place/architectural monuments and journeys, between the treasure house of the opening and all the roads, paths, and wayfaring later in the poem.[67]

We may find one metapoetic acknowledgment of the doubled work of the chorus in the first imperative in the poem. Immediately after the opening strophe has constructed the golden columns and "radiant face/façade" of its porch of song, the antistrophe begins:

ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδίλῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων
Σωστράτου υἱός. (O.6.8–9)

For let the son of Sostratos know that by divine favor he holds his foot in this sandal/rhythm.

Given the metaphorical use of πέδιλον at Olympian 3, line 5, to mean "rhythm," Gordon Kirkwood suggests a resonance of that meaning here: "We should see a close link, a kind of blending, between this sentence and the end of the preceding one, ἀοιδαῖς."[68] That is, let the victor know that he holds "his foot" in this rhythm or motion of dance, in the "lovely songs" currently being performed by the chorus. This resonance is certainly present, but Pindar can also use πέδιλον to designate the base or foot of a column, as in the fantastic account from his first hymn of the rooting of the formerly floating island of Delos:

ἦν γὰρ τὸ πάροιθε φορητὰ
        κυμάτεσσιν παντοδαπῶν ἀνέμων
ῥιπαῖσιν· ἀλλ' ἁ Κοιογενὴς ὁπότ' ὠδί-
        νεσσι θυίοισ' ἀγχιτόκοις ἐπέβα
        νιν, δὴ τότε τέσσαρες ὀρθαί
πρέμνων ἀπώρουσαν χθονίων,
ἂν δ' ἐπικράνοις σχέθον
πέτραν ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι
κίονες, ἔνθα τεκοῖ-
        σ' εὐδαίμον' ἐπόψατο γένναν. (fr. 33d SM)

> For before that, she [Delos] was borne along by blasts of all sorts of winds on the swells [of the sea]. But when the daughter of Koios [Leto], raging with labor pains near to childbearing, set foot upon her, then indeed four straight columns with bases [lit., sandals] of adamant rose up from earthly foundations and supported the rock on their capitals, where, having given birth, she looked upon her blessed offspring.

If we allow a similar resonance for πέδιλον in Olympian 6, then the singing, dancing chorus here morphs into the glittering columns of the poem's opening porch of song—a mixing of body and building that is reinforced not just by πέδιλον as "column base" but also by the highly unusual use of πρόσωπον ("face") for the "façade" of a building.[69] Architecture tropes choreography and conversely.

Thus the language of Pindar's opening deliberately taps into and evokes the "incipient chorality" of columns that several scholars have already discerned in the Greek imaginary.[70] The chorus figures simultaneously the columns of the porch façade and the process of rhythmic motion on a journey, just as the Iamid Hagesias himself is heir to the family's "double treasury" of mantic fixity and mantic motion. In these terms, we might also reconsider the imperative to "come to this place behind [my] voice" (63) near the center of the ode, embedded between the imperative to Phintis (22–25) and the imperatives to Aineas (87–92).[71] In (re)performance, this command applies to the chorus itself, whose task or burden is always "to go behind" or "to follow [the poet's] voice."[72]

And so we come back finally to δεῦρο (63), hovering between *demonstratio ad oculos* and the "vicarious transport" of Pindaric myth.[73] (Re)performing at Olympia, the chorus doubles the topography of the Altis—Kronion hill, treasuries, stadium, ash altar of Zeus—that we, the audience in the *theatron*, see before us. (Re)performing at Syracuse or Stymphalos, or any other location in Sicily or throughout the Peloponnese, the chorus instead (as the opening lines tell us explicitly) erects the porch and treasury before our eyes, offering us in song and dance the golden columns and the detailed topography of Olympia, as well as the journey that takes us there and brings us home again.[74]

Towards a Lyric Archaeology

We have argued that Classical Greek technologies of space—and their corresponding concepts—were otherwise than our own. Maps were rare, metrical systems situational, conversions variable. Other technologies took up the slack, notably crafted things both large and small, stationary and mobile: statues, altars, buildings, chariots, inscriptions, bright marbles, bronzes—and poems. All of these works, and others besides, could be tools for ordering and organizing space in multiple frames of reference, to multiple purposes. Choral lyric in performance was especially powerful in this regard. When danced, Pindar's cult poems and epinikia collaborated with environments both literal and virtual, as the combination of prosody, ambient bodies, and sung narrative asserted cogency in four dimensions. More specifically, the poet shared with contemporary sculptors an aesthetics of *thauma* and radiance, presenting his poems as bright *agalmata* shining out over great distances, like so many beacons or landmarks. Choral lyric in performance established discursive connectivity between entities to constitute spaces, just as statues, altars, buildings, shrines, and dedications did for their viewers. The result was a conceptual "circuitry" that denominated, narrativized, and dynamized across variable orders of magnitude. Pindar's poems were, in this sense, like transistors that integrated and magnified the potential "energies" residing in worldly things, as *sthenos*, or strength, could be said to reside in a chariot. Commissioned by states, tyrants, and aristocrats for public display, choral lyric was inescapably, quintessentially political, which means that the power that ran through its circuits was political, too. And so was space itself.

Our first three chapters amounted to a schematic drawing of this circuitry, with emphasis on small scales and hyperlocal situations. We then turned to a series of case studies, charting expanding circuits of the place-making power of Pindaric lyric in performance. With fr. 75, we analyzed Pindar's cult lyric as a technology of *kosmēsis* within a single neighborhood of a city—the old agora of Athens. What remains of this poem incorporates specific landmarks within the measured pace and circular dance of the chorus in motion—notably the zero milestone of the state—integrating the disparate shrines and cult sites of this neighborhood into a woven crown of song and dance.

Pindar's Cyrenaean odes, Pythians 4, 5, and 9, in turn, vastly expand the work of spatial *kosmēsis*, integrating and ordering the cityscape of Cyrene and the landscape of the Cyrenaica. Pythians 5 and 9 offer us selective and differential versions of this Cyrenaean space—the agora, the major shrines, the urban center versus the cultivated *chōra*, even as they narrate competing versions of the colony's foundation myth, suited, respectively, to the king (P.5) and a Cyrenaean aristocrat (P.9). Pythian 4 to some extent mediates these oppositions, while Pythian 5 knits together time and space for the colonial context through the mysterious image of the king's "hereditary eye" hovering high above the Libyan littoral. A complex notion of political territory emerges in the poet's artful use of myth and fantastical imagery to make space temporal and time spatial: an interfusing that only makes sense once we have adapted our concepts to Greek practice.

Finally, Olympian 6 works in tandem with Deinomenid dedications at the panhellenic centers to stage a vast, discontinuous space of tyrannic power, where mobile populations trump territory and where any ethnic affiliation is labile, even ironized. Space, in this Deinomenid *kosmos*, is a function of *dunamis*, power. No zero milestone forms the basis for assessments of nearness and distance; instead the ruler's presence effectively "warps" space both conceptually and experientially. Olympian 6 uses architecture to implement this power, setting itself in both metaphoric and spatial relation to the treasuries at Olympia. This imagery serves two purposes simultaneously: as in the case of built treasuries, Olympian 6 thereby "nationalizes" or appropriates Hagesias's individual athletic victory, even as it celebrates it, within a Deinomenid frame. But treasuries are also "technologies of transport," warping or superimposing discontinuous locales—Syracuse, Gela, and Olympia—to instantiate Hieron's deterritorialized empire.

In pursuing these arguments, we have tried to implement a democracy of evidence. Instead of building a single ladder of inference that runs from archaeology to poetry, or vice versa, we have leveled our corpora so that no one class of material has priority over the others. Acting on this principle has had three consequences. First, it has led us to shift freely between literary, epigraphic, archaeological, and art-historical evidence. Lots of ladders, then, and not all of them straight. Second, we have worked from cases, since attention to particulars is necessary if we are to describe configurations of thought and comportment with sufficient nuance. Third, we have emphasized the relations between artifacts and environments as much as, or more than, thematics and iconography. The correlation of a line of poetry with a particular building, a letterform with a city-state, an iconographic motif with a discourse, has been important, but chiefly as a means to an end. Particular statements have mattered less than the grammars and procedures—the criteria—of their combination (which can give rise to dissonances no less than to harmonies). These three components—a diverse archive, close reading, and an emphasis on rules of relation—combine to make a first step toward a new "lyric archaeology."

Once we shift the focus to the material preconditions of spatiality and eschew distinctions between philology, art history, archaeology, and epigraphy, there turns out to be an enormous amount of evidence available for research. We cannot afford to dismiss anything as "merely conventional," whether it be the *schema Pindaricum* and other oddities of syntax, or imagery that pushes the frontiers of comprehensibility. When criteria themselves are at issue, we cannot know in advance what is metaphorical, what literal: the "strength of equipment" or the "hereditary eye" of Pythian 5; the "bronze-bowed Amazons" of Nemean 3; the *skutalē* and distaff of Olympian 6; the "beacon fire of hymns" in Isthmian 4? Similar questions pertain to archaeological and epigraphical materials. When do the letterforms and line breaks of an inscription inflect its meaning? Can the glitter of bronze or the shining of marble be something other than a secondary quality? Iconography is a tried-and-true paradigm, but perhaps the way a statue impinges, looms, projects, or, conversely, remains aloof is more important than the identity of whatever god or man it happens to show; maybe what matters is not a statue's ostensibly mimetic relation to its model, or even its engagement with a spectator, but the way it positions both of these relative to a built environment, a landscape, a territory. A vast archive opens up, if only we have eyes to see it.

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APPENDIX

Dating the Porch of the Geloan Treasury at Olympia

We suggested in chapter 7 that the opening of Olympian 6 makes reference to a treasure house—and, specifically, the treasure house of Gela at Olympia. The latter building was the oldest and largest Olympian treasury, but was substantially remodeled several generations after its initial construction. The Geloan treasury originally faced east but was reoriented to the south—and, crucially, received a new hexastyle prostyle porch at the same time.[1] We have suggested that this new porch is the vehicle of Pindar's metaphorical *prothuron* at the opening of Olympian 6. We have further suggested that the porch should be redated from the late sixth/early fifth century to the 470s BCE. Of course, Pindar could still have alluded to the porch even if it was not contemporary with his own poem; we believe, however, that the connection is tighter, and that the porch was, in fact, a new construction at the time Pindar wrote. The reference is not just pointed but topical. In this appendix we review the archaeological evidence for the relevant treasuries at Olympia in order to substantiate this claim.

The Treasury Terrace and the Deinomenidai

All of the treasuries at Olympia stood on a low terrace at the foot of the Kronion hill, overlooking the Altis (fig. 2.32). Twelve foundations survive, numbered I–XII on the plan, although VIII is probably an altar (fig. 7.11).[2] When Hagesias won the mule-cart race in 476, 472, or 468 BCE, two of these *thēsauroi* could have had plausible associations with the Deinomenidai: that of Syracuse (ruled by Hieron) and that of Gela (ruled by Polyzalos). We shall consider them in turn.

The Syracusan treasury occupied Foundation II on the treasury terrace (fig. 7.15).[3] Pausanias's description (6.19.7) is the basis of the identification:

> ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους· ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἤτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.
>
> Next to the treasury of the Sikyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, the work of Pothaios, Antiphilos, and Megakles. In it are votive offerings—a

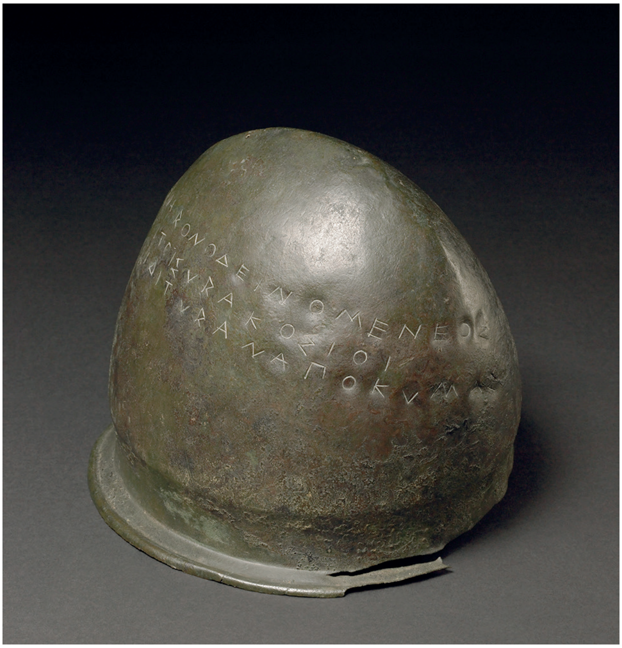
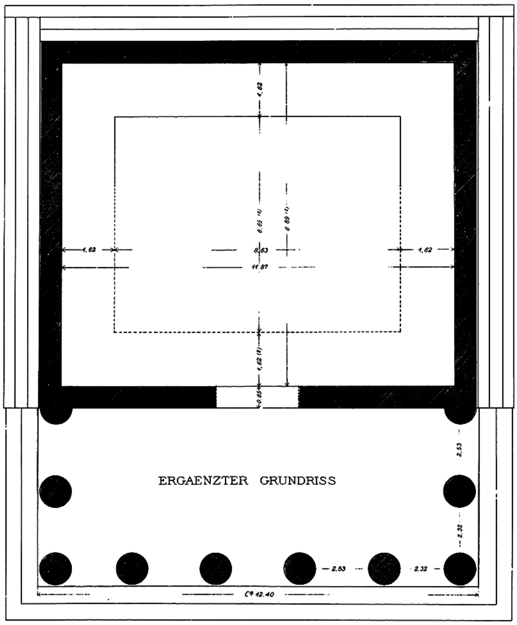


Fig. A.1. Olympia: Etruscan helmet. Bronze, before 474 BCE. Discovered in 1817 "amidst the Ruins of Olympia." London, British Museum inv. 1823,0610.1. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

> large-scale Zeus and linen breastplates three in number, dedicated by Gelon and the Syracusans after defeating the Phoenicians either with warships or perhaps in a land battle.

The sobriquet "Carthaginian" is understood to be a nickname, referring to the treasury's contents and the occasion of its construction: presumably the battle of Himera in 480 BCE. Architecturally the Syracusan treasury was a late addition to the terrace, squeezed in between the earlier Foundations I and III. Doric capitals and a hawksbeak molding assigned to the building are consistent with a date after ca. 480 BCE.[4]

Pausanias's uncertainty regarding the exact nature of the battle may reflect a later assimilation of Gelon's triumph at Himera to Hieron's subsequent naval victory over the Etruscans off Cumae in 474 BCE. At Delphi, Gelon commemorated Himera with a column of gilded bronze, crowned by a golden Nike; Hieron erected his own matching column alongside.[5] Only the distinctive, bell-shaped bases of these columns survive, with their accompanying inscriptions. The precise relation between the two columns



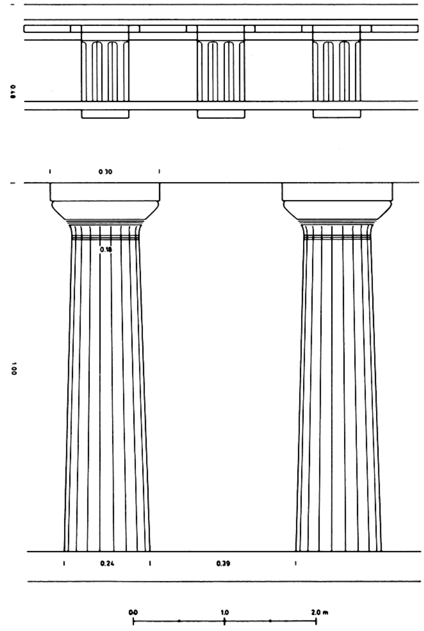


Fig. A.2. (*left*) Olympia: Geloan treasury. Plan after Dörpfeld 1892b (modified).
Fig. A.3. (*right*) Olympia: Geloan treasury, restored elevation of porch. Drawing after K. Herrmann 1976.

is unclear: although they share a common socle, details of construction and epigraphy indicate that Hieron's was erected later. For present purposes, what matters is the simple fact that Hieron paired himself with his brother at the panhellenic shrine. Three of Hieron's dedications have been found at Olympia: two Etruscan helmets and one of Corinthian type (fig. A.1). All are inscribed, with minor variations, "Hieron son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans, to Zeus, from the Tyrrhenians at Cumae" (Ηιάρōν Δεινομένεος | καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι | τõι Δὶ Τυρ(ρ)αν⟨õν⟩ ἀπὸ Κύμας).[6] These offerings may once have resided in the "Carthaginian" treasury, alongside the linen corselets that Pausanias mentions.

So much for Syracuse. The other candidate treasury at Olympia belonged to Gela, where the Deinomenidai had their origins (figs. A.2, A.3).[7] Pausanias is laconic:

> τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν θησαυρῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ μέν ἐστιν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ, Γελῴων δὲ ἀνάθημα τόν τε θησαυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἶναι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· οὐ μέντοι ἀνακείμενά γε ἔτι ἀγάλματά ἐστιν.

> The last of the treasuries is right by the stadium, and the inscription says that the treasury, and the *agalmata* inside it, were dedicated by the Geloans. The images, however, are no longer there.[8]

No trace of the inscription survives, but the architectural remains are relatively extensive.

The Geloan treasury went up in two phases. Phase I was a simple hall, without a porch or columns of any kind, and without a Doric frieze.[9] It was the largest and apparently the earliest of all the treasuries at Olympia; unlike the later examples that would eventually line the terrace, it seems to have faced east, not south. To this phase belongs a well-known terracotta roof found in the immediate vicinity (fig. 7.12). Gaudily decorated in purple, yellow, and black, featuring the distinctive Sicilian upright sima with gutter spouts, the roof made a powerful statement of regional identity. Recent study of the clay using neutron-activation analysis indicates that it comes from someplace in southeastern Sicily; the exact spot is as yet undetermined, but a bit of the Sicilian *gē* is, literally, at the heart of the panhellenic shrine.[10] The date of this phase remains controversial. Proposals range from ca. 570 BCE (Alfred Mallwitz) to ca. 550 BCE (Joachim Heiden) to ca. 540-530 BCE (Marilyn Mertens-Horn) to the later sixth century (Wolfgang Darsow), all chiefly on stylistic grounds.[11] This phase, at any rate, predates the Deinomenid rise to power.

In Phase II, the Geloan treasury was reoriented 90° to face south, in conformity with its neighbors.[12] The eastern doorway was walled in and a hexastyle prostyle porch built across the south façade. The excavator, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, dated this phase to the first half of the fifth century BCE on the basis of its Doric capitals.[13] In 1972, however, the discovery of additional fragments of the porch's architecture prompted a reappraisal.[14] In addition to confirming that the porch had a gabled roof, the new fragments made it possible to specify the relative height of the columns and the entablature, that is, the horizontal members between the capitals and the roof.[15] These proportions can be useful for dating: early Doric buildings tend to have relatively short columns and heavy entablatures, Classical ones to be more slender and lighter. On this basis, Klaus Herrmann (1976) compared the new fragments to extant remains of the Megarian and Sikyonian treasuries at Olympia.[16] The Megarian treasury is securely late Archaic, dated on the basis of its architectural sculpture; the Sikyonian is Classical (">450," according to Mallwitz, although one might prefer a date relatively early in the Classical period), therefore less useful in this instance.[17] Herrmann argued that the porch exhibited the least developed proportions of the three, specifically in the height of the entablature and the columns, and so must predate both. Taking the Megarian treasury as a *terminus ante quem*, he redated the Geloan porch to ca. 500 BCE; this revised date has remained unchallenged ever since.[18]

Yet there is reason to revisit the question. For one thing, the layout of the treasury terrace itself makes an early date for the porch intrinsically unlikely (fig. 7.11). The treasuries all stand in a row at the foot of the Kronion hill; Foundations I–V share one alignment, Foundations VI–XII a slightly different one, the shift reflecting the curve of the hillside. Crucially, Phase I of the Geloan treasury lines up perfectly with its neighbors, but Phase II, the porch, juts out southward, in front of all the others; it is the only edifice on the terrace to advance in this way. As Louis Dyer pointed out in 1905, the strong implication is that the porch *postdates* Foundations VI–XI, for it is unlikely that any subsequent building in this group would have meekly adhered to the old lineup once the Geloans had broken ranks.[19] In particular, the façade of the Megarian treasury (Foundation XI) lines up perfectly with the old cella of the Geloan treasury (Foundation XII) and takes no notice of the porch.[20] In other words, the Megarian treasury was built to align with Phase I of the Geloan treasury, which implies that the porch did not yet exist at the time of its construction. This consideration runs directly counter to the theory that the Megarian treasury can represent a *terminus ante quem* for the porch. It is not even clear, in fact, that there was sufficient room on the treasury terrace to accommodate the Geloan porch at all until the terrace was furnished with a new retaining wall in the 470s BCE, as part of a renovation of the Altis that involved the construction of the temple of Zeus and a modification of the stadium.[21]

This purely circumstantial evidence is by no means decisive. But it is enough to warrant reopening the question. In fact, there is good reason to suppose that the porch's construction may be considerably later than ca. 500 BCE: Dörpfeld may have been right all along.

The Date of the Geloan Porch, I: Reasons to Revisit the Question

In arguing for an early date, Herrmann used an exceedingly small sample size: just two comparanda, only one of which (the Megarian treasury) is sufficiently early to be of any consequence for his argument (the other, the

Sikyonian treasury, is late enough to be irrelevant). He focused, moreover, almost entirely on the relative heights of the columns and the entablature; as we shall see, these features may not have significant implications for chronology in this particular case. At the same time, Herrmann ignored features of the porch's ground plan and capitals, which it would be normal to include as evidence of date in a discussion of Doric architecture. The argument, in short, depends on a subset of data from an already minimal sample. Reassessment is therefore in order. A broader survey suggests that the height of the columns and the entablature need not have implications for chronology, while there is strong evidence in favor of a later, even early Classical date for the porch.

There are two reasons to discount the porch's heavy entablature as an index of date. First, although located in the Peloponnese, the Geloan treasury is a *Sicilian* building. Treasure houses often trumpet local identity, and in this case Phase I's massive roof of imported Sicilian clay conforms to Sicilian, not mainland, systems.[22] It would be more appropriate, therefore, to compare the porch to Sicilian or West Greek buildings than to mainland ones. Failure to compare like with like risks distorting the analysis, as West Greek architecture retained old-fashioned or "Archaic" features well into the Classical period. The porch's columns, for instance, are indeed stocky: Herrmann observes that their height is equivalent to 4.2 lower diameters, compared to 4.9 for the Megarian treasury at Olympia, 5.1 for the Sikyonian.[23] In a mainland context, such columns may seem Archaic, but West Greek comparanda tell a different story. The columns of the Geloan porch are basically identical in proportion to those of the temple of Hera II at Paestum (height of 4.2 lower diameters), which dates to the 460s BCE; they are not much shorter than those of the temple of Athena at Syracuse (4.44 lower diameters) or Temple C at Gela (4.55 lower diameters), both of which postdate 480 BCE.[24] Again, the porch has a tall entablature by comparison with mainland norms, roughly 0.48 times the height of the column. But the temple of Zeus at Cyrene, dating to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, exhibits a ratio of 0.47, so the porch is hardly an outlier relative to western Doric of the early Classical period.[25] West Greek regional style, in short, goes a long way toward explaining the heaviness of the porch's façade, although it may not account for it entirely.

Second, and more importantly, the Geloan porch was not a freestanding creation but an addition to an older structure. Herrmann treated the porch in isolation, but its seemingly Archaic features may in fact be accommodations to the Phase I cella. In particular, the porch's placement on the *flank* of the older building was highly unusual. This placement imposed constraints on design. Notably, it meant that the porch's entire elevation, including the roof, had to fit below the flank geison (roofline) of the cella, lest it compromise the revetments or block the gutter spouts.[26] In other words, the porch had to be broad and low relative to Phase I, nestling beneath the Archaic roofline while abutting the flank of the old cella. This constraint certainly influenced the decision to make the porch prostyle in plan, but it may have had other repercussions as well. In particular, the spectacular roof of the old cella, and much of the blank south wall, will have remained visible above the porch: roughly 3.5 m^2 of exposed wall to either side of the porch's gable, or roughly 5.4 m^2 if one includes the Archaic geison.[27]

It is by no means clear what effect, if any, this unusual situation might have had on the proportions of the columns and the entablature; what may seem like archaisms may in fact be adaptations. It is quite possible that a high entablature was chosen to help hide the unsightly and unusual exposed wall of Phase I. Tellingly, the porch's roof had an extremely shallow pitch of roughly 1:6 (or 9.46°), where the norm was about 1:4 or 1:4.5; Phase I had a pitch of 1:3.5.[28] A steeper pitch would have been perfectly feasible even in the low space provided: one would need simply to lighten the entablature to make room. The decision to have a shallow pitch must have been deliberate, so it makes sense to ask: what problem did such a pitch solve? We might see this feature in tandem with the tall entablature and stocky columns as part of a consistent effort to mask the blank wall of the cella, in order that the transition between the two structures might be as unobtrusive as possible. A steeper, slimmer, lighter façade, although feasible, would necessarily have exposed more of the blank south wall to view, not just above the pediment but between the columns as well.[29] At the same time, the porch's tall triglyphion will have helped to compensate for the lack of a Doric frieze on the cella itself, even as any paint on the new entablature will have offset the gaudy Archaic revetments that ran in a band above the roof.

More generally, the unusual placement of the porch alongside an earlier structure, squashed beneath its roofline, renders the ordinary proportional schemata of dubious value. Even the correct point of comparison becomes unclear: although the entablature may have been tall relative to the height of the porch columns, it was not tall relative to the height of the old cella.

If we see the porch as a freestanding creation, it is rather squat; if we see it as an integral part of the treasury as a whole, it is not. Which is correct? The situation is so anomalous that it seems rash to draw far-reaching conclusions about chronology from any of these ratios.

What is clear, however, is that the Geloans tried to integrate the two phases visually; the desired effect, as Herrmann notes, seems to have been of a small peripteros projecting out in front of all the other treasuries.[30] The porch façade makes sense as an effort to integrate the two phases; pediment, entablature, and columns work together to mitigate as much as possible the blank wall and imposing roofline of the older building. The proportions, accordingly, are not neutral or value-free indicators of date. In a West Greek idiom already inclined to low columns and high entablatures, the unusual nature of the commission could easily distort the ratios on which Herrmann's argument entirely depends—for, to repeat, these ratios are the *only* points of comparison he adduces in support of an early date.

The Date of the Geloan Porch, II: Relevant Comparanda and Neglected Features

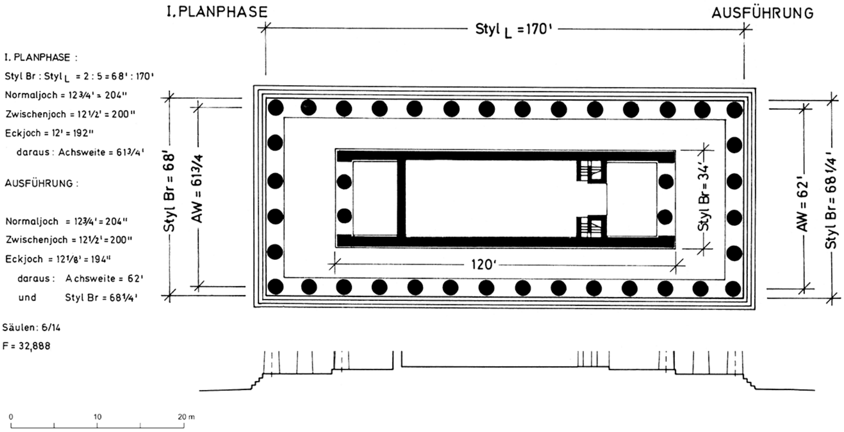
Properly to date this porch, we need indices that will be sensitive to the Sicilian origin, while remaining unaffected by the porch's placement on the flank of an Archaic building. One such index is *angle contraction*: the way that Doric buildings reduce the space between columns at the corners as a solution to the "triglyph problem." On the Geloan porch, the distance between the axes of the columns must have diminished by approximately 4.4% at the corners (from 2.53 m to 2.42 m. in Dörpfeld's plausible reconstruction).[31] Yet angle contraction is a mainland technique that does not appear in Sicily until ca. 480 BCE; the "victory temple" at Himera and the Athena temple at Syracuse are often cited as the earliest examples, along with the temple of Herakles at Akragas.[32] If we judge the Geloan porch by Sicilian standards, this contraction argues strongly for an early Classical date. Herrmann's late sixth-century date, by contrast, would ask us to accept angle contraction on a Geloan building a full generation before its appearance on any other Sicilian building.

The proportions of the porch capitals tell the same story. Like angle contraction, the capital is unlikely to be affected by the unusual placement of the porch on the flank of an older building. The historical evolution of the Doric capital has, moreover, been extensively studied: the echinus—the round, flaring member that makes up the capital's lower portion—tends to straighten up with time. Early examples feature a pronounced curve and a squashed, pillowy look; later ones have straighter profiles; the very latest are nearly conical. It is for just this reason that capitals are among the most widely cited tools for dating Doric buildings; indeed, it was on this basis that Dörpfeld suggested an early fifth-century date back in 1892. Herrmann ignored this evidence almost entirely in his redating.[33] Since he published, vast amounts of data have been published that make reevaluation necessary.

J. J. Coulton, in what remains the fundamental analysis of Doric capitals, placed the porch in his "early classical" Group 4/5, not in his "archaic" Group 1/3.[34] Although it is not inconceivable that a building in Group 4/5 might date to ca. 500 BCE (the "Alkmeonid" temple of Apollo, ca. 510 BCE, is the oldest member of the group), in fact the closest and most relevant points of comparison point to a date shortly after 480 BCE. Retaining the principle that *Sicilian* comparanda are most appropriate to a *Sicilian* building, four points of comparison are particularly germane: the Syracusan ("Carthaginian") treasury at Olympia; the "victory temple" at Himera; its twin, the temple of Athena at Syracuse; and Temple C at Gela itself. Let us take them in order.

The first item on the list, the Syracusan treasury, has already been discussed as a thank offering for victory over Carthage in 480 BCE. The temples at Himera and Syracuse emerge from the same context (figs. A.4, A.5, A.6; 7.13, 7.14). They are generally recognized as the "two *naoi*" that, according to Diodorus Siculus (11.26.2-3), the Carthaginians were required to underwrite as war reparations after Himera.[35] Gelon of Syracuse is understood to have erected the one at Syracuse (where it is still in use as the cathedral of that city), Theron of Akragas the one at Himera. The temples are nearly identical in plan and elevation, notably exhibiting two features characteristic of mainland Doric that had not been seen before on Sicily: each has a back porch, or opisthodomos, and each exhibits angle contraction. In addition to providing a reliable fixed point in the chronology of Sicilian Doric, these temples indicate a degree of homogeneity, even deliberate coordination in architectural style, across city-states in the Deinomenid zone.

Lastly, Temple C at Gela has often been associated with the battle of Himera as well, most recently by Dieter Mertens (fig. A.7).[36] Remains of Temple C consist chiefly of a foundation, a single column of the opisthodomos, and some fragments of the entablature—enough to justify comparison with the


I. PLANPHASE
AUSFÜHRUNG
Styl L = 170'
I. PLANPHASE :
Styl Br : Styl L = 2 : 5 = 68' : 170'
Normaljoch = 12 3/4' = 204"
Zwischenjoch = 12 1/2' = 200"
Eckjoch = 12' = 192"
daraus : Achsweite = 61 3/4'
AUSFÜHRUNG :
Normaljoch = 12 3/4' = 204"
Zwischenjoch = 12 1/2' = 200"
Eckjoch = 12 1/8' = 194"
daraus : Achsweite = 62'
und Styl Br = 68 1/4'
Säulen: 6/14
F = 32,888
Styl Br = 68'
AW = 61 3/4
Styl Br = 34'
120'
AW = 62'
Styl Br = 68 1/4'
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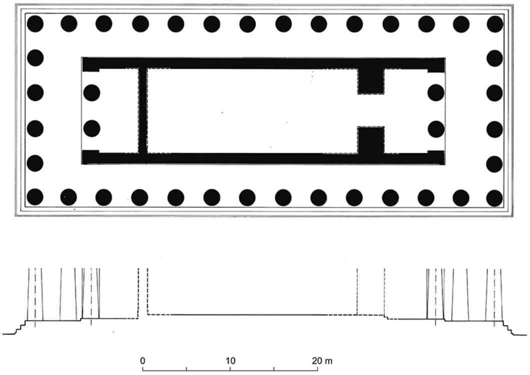

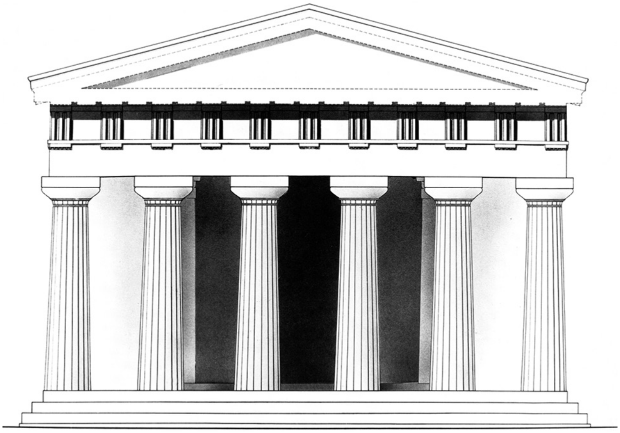

Fig. A. 4. (*top*) Himera: "Victory temple," plan. After 480 BCE. Cf. fig. 7.14. Drawing by Dieter Mertens, used by kind permission. *Fig. A.5.* (*middle*) Syracuse: temple of Athena, plan. After 480 BCE. Cf. fig. 7.13. Drawing by Dieter Mertens, used by kind permission. *Fig. A.6.* (*bottom*) Syracuse: temple of Athena, east elevation. After 480 BCE. Cf. fig. 7.13. Drawing by Dieter Mertens, used by kind permission.

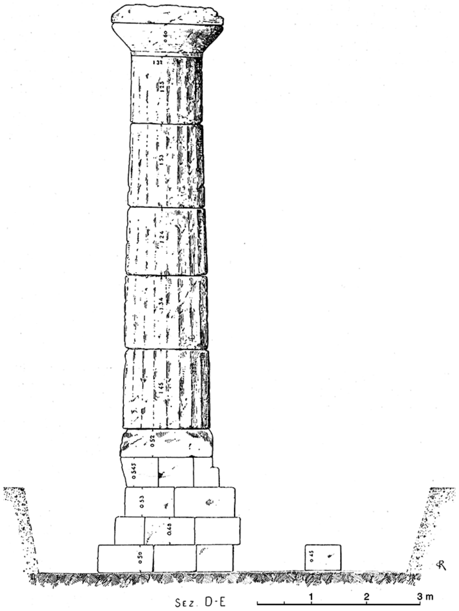

Fig. A.7. Gela: Temple C, opisthodomos column in situ. Ca. 470 BCE. Drawing after Orsi 1907.

Geloan porch at many points, and to date the temple ca. 470 BCE or even slightly later.[37] Naturally, the temple's location at Gela itself and its early Classical date make it particularly relevant to the porch at Olympia.

Within this set, we may begin by singling out the most diagnostically significant values. According to Coulton, the sharpest contrasts between "archaic" and "early classical" capitals lie in the ratio of the height of the echinus to the projection of the capital and, even more strikingly, that of the combined height of echinus and the annulets to the projection of the capital.[38] Coulton himself provided histograms that arrange hundreds of capitals into broad ranges based on their proportions; unfortunately, he did not include Temple C at Gela in his analysis. With regard to the first ratio (H. echinus / Projection of capital), Coulton found the Geloan porch and the Syracusan treasury to be effectively identical, and the temple of Athena at Syracuse to be comparatively old-fashioned; it is not possible to obtain this measurement for the temple at Himera due to the exigencies of preservation.[39] With regard to the second ratio (H. echinus + H. annulets / Projection of capital), the porch is intermediate between the Syracusan treasury and the temples at Himera, Syracuse, and Gela.[40]

In fact, the porch is also intermediate between the Syracusan treasury and the Athena temple *in every other case in which Coulton provides values for three or more buildings in the set*; invariably, the Syracusan treasury is more "advanced," the Athena temple more "conservative." This relation pertains for the ratio of abacus width / upper diameter of column (134 fig. 19c); of abacus height / upper diameter of column (135 fig. 20b); of echinus height / upper diameter (136 fig. 21b); of echinus height / abacus width (136 fig. 21d); of echinus height / abacus height (137 fig. 22e); of echinus height + annulet height / upper diameter (138 fig. 23b); of echinus height + annulet height / abacus width (138 fig. 23d); and of echinus height + annulet height / abacus height (139 fig. 24e).

Coulton's histograms suggest, in broad strokes, that the proportions of the porch capitals are consistent with an early Classical date. More precise comparison bears out this point. Table A.1 lists figures for the capitals of all five buildings.[41] The overall consistency within each column is striking. Particularly noteworthy are (a) the close similarity between the porch capitals and those of the early Classical Temple C at Gela itself, and (b) the striking uniformity in the ratio of echinus height to abacus width. These numbers bear out what is apparent to the naked eye in figure A.8: the capitals of the Geloan porch are nearly an exact match with Sicilian constructions of the 470s BCE, the curve of the echinus being particularly close to that of the temple at Himera. In no case are the porch capitals flatter than early Classical ones; they are, if anything, more upright.

Tellingly, even though the porch has relatively short columns, the diameters relate to the width of the capital in a fully Classical way, especially in the context of the Greek West. A ratio of 1.57 for the width of the abacus to the upper diameter is comparable to those of the temple of Zeus at Akragas (1.55, ca. 480 BCE), Temple A at Selinous (1.60, ca. 460 BCE), Temple E at Selinous (1.57, ca. 480-460 BCE), the great temple at Delos (1.55, ca. 475-450 BCE), and the Doric treasury in the Marmaria at Delphi (1.61, ca. 480-460 BCE).[42] At 1.24, likewise, the ratio of the width of the abacus to the lower diameter is comparable to those of the temple of Hera Lakinia at Kroton (1.25, second quarter of the fifth century BCE) and the temple of Hera II at Paestum (1.27, ca. 460 BCE).[43] In short, the horizontal proportions of the columns (width/diameter) conform to Classical norms in the Greek West, even though the vertical ones (width/height, diameter/height) do not. Whether this relative truncation of the column has anything to do

Table A.1. Proportions of Sicilian Doric Capitals of the Early Classical Period

	HEch / PCap	(HEch + HAnn) / PCap	WAb / UD	WAb / LD	HAb / UD	HEch / UD	HEch / WAb	HEch / HAb
Olympia, Geloan Porch	0.96	1.29	1.57	1.24	0.26	0.28	0.18	1.07
Olympia, Syracusan Treasury	0.91	—	1.63	—	0.27	0.29	0.18	1.08
Himera, “Victory” Temple	—	—	—	1.22	—	—	0.18	1.00
Syracuse, Athena Temple	0.89	1.03	1.66	1.25	0.30	0.29	0.18	0.97
Gela, Temple C	—	1.26	1.55	1.20	0.26	0.35	—	—

Key: HAb, height of abacus; HAnn, height of annulets; HEch, height of echinus; LD, lower diameter of column; PCap, projection of capital; UD, upper diameter of column; WAb, width of abacus.

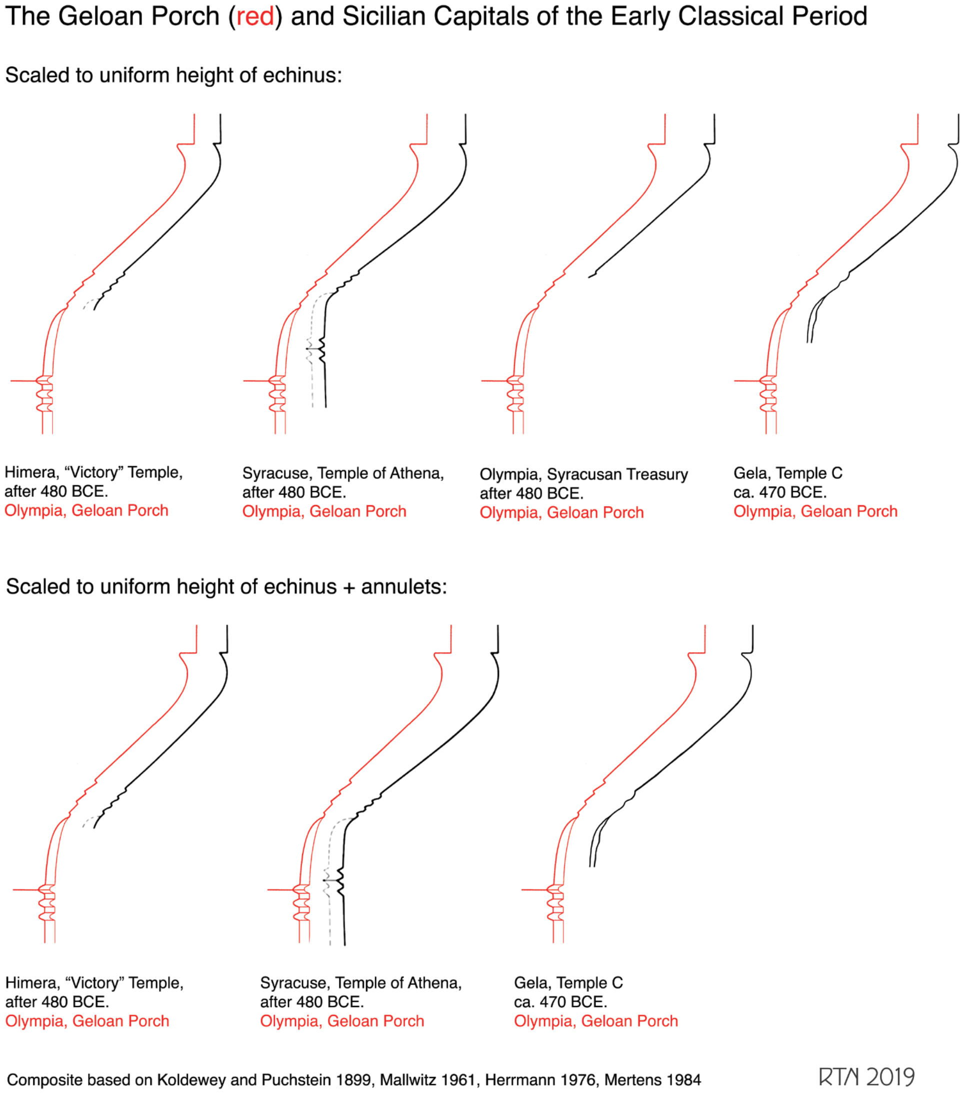
The Geloan Porch (red) and Sicilian Capitals of the Early Classical Period
Scaled to uniform height of echinus:
Himera, "Victory" Temple, after 480 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Syracuse, Temple of Athena, after 480 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Olympia, Syracusan Treasury after 480 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Gela, Temple C ca. 470 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Scaled to uniform height of echinus + annulets:
Himera, "Victory" Temple, after 480 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Syracuse, Temple of Athena, after 480 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Gela, Temple C ca. 470 BCE.
Olympia, Geloan Porch
Composite based on Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, Mallwitz 1961, Herrmann 1976, Mertens 1984
RTN 2019

Fig. A.8. Comparative rendering of capitals of the porch of the Geloan treasury at Olympia, the Syracusan treasury at Olympia, the "Victory temple" at Himera, the temple of Athena at Syracuse, and Temple C at Gela. Drawing by R. Neer based on Koldewey and Puchstein 1899; Mallwitz 1961; K. Herrmann 1976; and Mertens 1984 (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

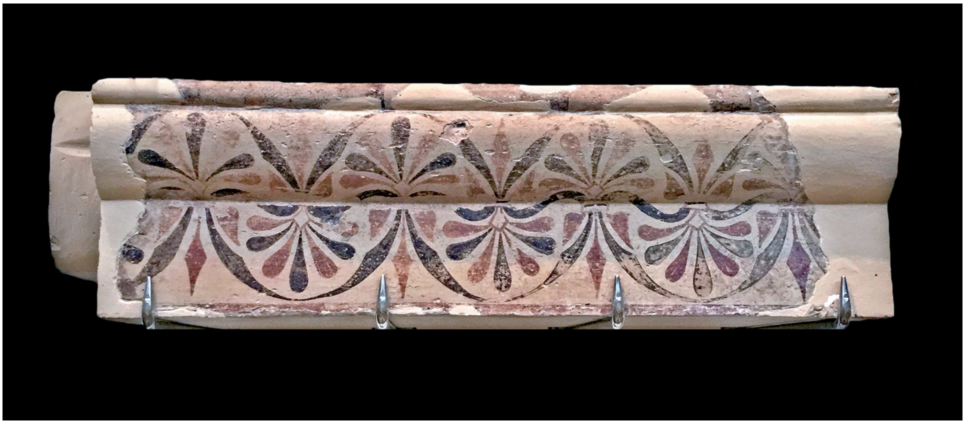

Fig. A. 9. Olympia: fragment of revetment (Heiden cat. 06; Mallwitz no. 5K). Terracotta, ca. 470 BCE. Olympia, Museum. Photo by R. Neer (CC-BY-SA-4.0).

with the need to fit the entire porch beneath the geison of the old, Phase I cella is unclear.

A final piece of circumstantial evidence seems, in this light, especially compelling. In publishing the terracotta roofs from Olympia, Joachim Heiden identified a group of fragments with the distinctive, low pitch of 1:6 (fig. A.9).[44] Archaeologically the fragments had a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 460 BCE; stylistically they seemed to Heiden to date "after 500 BCE."[45] He assigned them, accordingly, to the Geloan porch. Alfred Mallwitz, however, disputed this conclusion, implying that the style was too late for the porch by assigning the fragments instead to the Syracusan treasury of the 470s BCE.[46] We are now in a position to cut this Gordian knot: Heiden and Mallwitz were both correct. If the pitch matches that of the Geloan porch, while the style is consistent with a date in the 470s BCE, then the likely reason is that the porch dates to the 470s BCE.

Conclusion

To conclude, the arguments in favor of a high date treat the Geloan porch in isolation. Yet the porch's projection in front of its neighbors is circumstantial evidence that it postdates the other buildings on the treasury terrace, hence belongs to the Classical period. The conservatism of West Greek architecture, and the need to accommodate the sixth-century cella (Phase I), may account for seeming archaisms in the ratio of column height to entablature. The presence of angle contraction on a Sicilian building is strong evidence for an early Classical date, and the porch capitals are pervasively similar to counterparts on Sicilian—and, specifically, Deinomenid—buildings constructed after the battle of Himera. We suggest, therefore, that Dörpfeld was quite correct to date the Geloan porch to the fifth century BCE. More precisely, it belongs with the other post-Himera monuments, in the 470s BCE. This date, based on the internal evidence of the porch's architecture, happens to coincide with the remodeling of the treasury terrace that occurred ca. 470 BCE; the two campaigns are probably related, although in what exact way is, again, unclear.[47]

This redating implies strongly that the Geloan porch belongs alongside the "Carthaginian" treasury as a Deinomenid thank offering for victory over the barbarian. The victory in question is presumably Himera, not Cumae, insofar as the porch columns most closely resemble the post-Himera temples in Sicily itself, and an earlier date seems preferable given the somewhat old-fashioned treatment of the columns and entablature, but the inferences are inevitably imprecise. We are, then, to imagine both Gelon of Syracuse and Hieron of Gela undertaking coincident dedications at Olympia. Whether Gelon lived to see the Syracusan treasury to completion is uncertain, given that he died in 478 BCE; it is perfectly possible that, by the time these projects were finished, Hieron was ruling in Syracuse, and his brother Polyzalos in Gela.

And Olympian 6? At the time that Hagesias won the mule-cart race, in 476, 472, or 468 BCE, the city of Gela—ancestral home of the Deinomenidai, where Gelon, Hieron, and now their brother held the tyranny—had just completed a new porch across the south façade of its treasure house. Surely this entryway is the εὐτειχὲς πρόθυρον, the "well-walled porch," of Pindar's song.

In general, we use author-date citations in the notes. But in a few instances we use title or author abbreviations that are familiar in our respective fields as follows:

CEG	P. A. Hansen. 1983. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculorum vii–v a. Chr. N.* Berlin.
CEG 2	P. A. Hansen. 1989. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculi iv a. Chr. N.* Berlin.
DNO	S. Kansteiner, L. Lehmann, and. K. Hallof. 2014. *Der neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen.* With A. Filges, R. Krumeich, and P. Weitmann. Berlin.
FGrH	F. Jacoby. 1923–. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Berlin.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones. 1940. *Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. With a supplement, 1968. Oxford.

Introduction. The Propinquity of Things

Epigraph: Foucault 1970: xxiv.

1. See, e.g., Steiner 1993, 2001: ch. 5; Athanassaki 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Day 2010, 2013; Pavlou 2010a, 2010b; Hedreen 2011; Indergaard 2011; Eckerman 2013, 2014; Fearn 2013, 2017; Berman 2015.

2. See also Neer 2004; Kurke 2017.

3. In this regard there are many points of contact with landscape archaeology, although our method is different. Basic points of reference here include (but are not limited to) J. Thomas 1993; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Bradley 2000; A. T. Smith 2003; Forbes 2007; Llobera 2007; Harmanşah 2013, 2014. Key anthropological studies of the narrativization of landscapes include Basso 1996; McBryde 2000; Whitridge 2004. For a useful discussion, in some ways analogous to our distinction between paradigm and syntagm, see Curry 2005.

4. Pavlou 2010a: 9.

5. The literature on cultural geography is vast. For basic orientations see Duncan, Johnson, and Schein 2007; Oakes and Price 2008. Of particular relevance to the present discussion are Jackson 2000; Sharp 2000; Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004; Whatmore 2002, 2006; Hones 2008; Anderson and Wylie 2009. On Foucault and territoriality see Elden 2001, 2013; W. J. T. Mitchell 2002; Crampton and Elden 2007 (with useful collection of texts); Foucault 2007. Classical studies has enjoyed a resurgence of interest in the topic, the fruits of which are cited in the main text.

6. For an important statement of "the physical body" as "the ground of lived experience" see Holmes 2010, quotation from p. x.

7. Given our project and our approach, we make very little mention of one recent book that would seem to cover similar ground: Fearn 2017. This is not simply

because there is almost no overlap in terms of the poems and places discussed in our respective texts but because our projects are in fact quite distinct—on skew lines to each other, as it were. As Fearn's subtitle (*Visual and Material Culture in Epinician Poetry*) makes clear, his interest is internal to the reading of epinikian poetry, where he explores how Pindar uses "material cultural" language and imagery to raise questions about the interpretability, meaning, and enduring value of his own poetry and to build in certain kinds of ambiguity and open-endedness for multiple audiences through time. In addition, Fearn argues that Pindar's poetry actively contributes to its audiences'/readers' ("lyric" or "aesthetic" or "ritual") "subjectivities."

8. Exemplary of work on prehistoric landscapes are Harmanşah 2013, 2014; Letesson and Knappett 2017.

9. Foucault 1970: xv–xxiv. Taking Foucault's spatial terms literally might be said to be the difference between this book and Kurke 1999, which aimed at a symbolic "cultural archaeology."

10. E.g., all the literature on ekphrasis; for a recent, sustained exploration of this "competition" see Bassi 2016. This is also why we do not find particularly productive the efforts of Fearn 2017 to reinscribe the reading of Pindar within a discourse of ekphrasis and "ekphrastic gesture."

11. Foucault 2019.

Chapter 1. Two Spatial Technologies: The Map and the Chorus

1. On the rhetorical concept of *topos* see Pernot 1988.

2. For the term "hodological," adapted from Gestalt psychology, see Janni 1984; also Sartre 1956: 279, 308, 321–28. See also Brodersen 1995: 33–69. On sea-level views see Kowalski 2012 (with Janni 1996).

3. For a programmatic statement at the intersection of affect theory and geography see Thrift 2004. For an overview and critique see Leys 2017. An important source in the study of space is the work of Henri Lefebvre (see Lefebvre 1991, 2014), but it is necessary to distinguish Lefebvre's relatively complex (and not entirely consistent) work from the uses to which it has been subsequently put. The distinction between theory and "lived experience" has become ubiquitous in Classical studies; for a book-length treatment see Thalmann 2011.

4. Outside Classics and other historical disciplines, affect theory and cultural geography are often overtly political. The charge that they are nonetheless reactionary de facto may yet obtain: see Leys 2017, with Asmin and Thrift 2007 (replying to critiques from the left); Cronan 2013. Even this debatable politics disappears, however, from most historical accounts of the sort one finds in Classics. By contrast, for an excellent treatment of spatiality and gender identity see S. G. Cole 2004.

5. Janni 1984; S. G. Cole 2010: 203–6. Maps did, of course, exist in the Near East and Egypt. The oldest surviving map was drawn by one Amennakhte son of Ipuy in the reign of Ramses IV, ca. 1150 BCE; see Harrell and Brown 1992a, 1992b.

6. For *perimetra* see Diogenes Laertius 2.2 (= Anaximander 12 A 1 DK). It bears emphasis that this limit pertains only for one traveling outward from the axis to the edge of the circle; for one traveling along the circumference, the circle is endless,

apeiron. For the circle as a "limitless" shape see Naddaf 2005: 68–69, with earlier references. On early Greek maps see Aujac 1985; Dilke 1985: 22–29; Jacob 1988, 1992; Irby 2012, 2016b. For the analogy between the shield of Achilleus and maps see Aujac 1985: 130–32; Dilke 1985: 20; P. Hardie 1985; Purves 2010: ch. 3. On Anaximander's map in particular see the recent discussion in Couprie 2011: 79–86, with earlier references, with Roller 1989; Munn 2006: 178–220. On Hekataios's map in particular see Zimmermann 1997–98; Heilen 2000; Bertelli 2001; Prontera 2001; Munn 2006: 213–20. For mapping and narrative see Purves 2010: 97–117 and passim; Barker et al. 2013. On Greek mapping practices in general see Aujac 1985; Jacob 1988, 1992; Prontera 1990; Cinque 2002; Giorgetti 2004; Irby 2012, 2016b, 2016c; Ceccarelli 2016. Basic studies and handbooks of ancient geographers are Keyser and Irby-Massie 2008; Dueck 2012; Roller 2015; Bianchetti, Cataudella, and Gehrke 2016. Our discussion is fundamentally indebted to the pioneering work of Jean-Pierre Vernant, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and Marcel Detienne: see Vernant 2006: 157–262 ("The Organization of Space"); Vidal-Naquet 1986: 15–84 ("Space and Time"); Detienne 1965.

7. See de Bakker 2016: 82–87.

8. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 362b13, trans. H. D. P. Lee, modified. On Aristotle's geography in the *Meteorology* see M. Wilson 2013: 164–69, maintaining that Aristotle still absolutizes the center of the map (see below, n. 15).

9. On the boundaries of the earth see Kahn 1985: 81–84; Romm 1992: 10–43; Aujac 2012; Marcotte 2016; Schneider 2016.

10. Cf. Netz 1999: 59–61.

11. Dilke 1985: 24; Heilen 2000: 37–38.

12. Romm 1992: 37; see also Romm 2010. For an overview of Herodotean space see Pollini 2012.

13. On Greek terminology see Casevitz 1998; Munn 2006: 188–96; du Bouchet 2012.

14. On "egocentric" space see Broderson 1995: 49–50.

15. See M. Wilson 2013: 166–67, 207–16, with earlier bibliography. Wilson takes the phrase "the section of the earth's surface in which we live" (τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκούμενον) to be absolute and Hellenocentric, but even on his account the axial point of the wind rose is only an approximation. The more orthodox view, that the placement is not absolute, is to be found, e.g., in the third-century CE commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias; see M. Wilson 2013: 211n36.

16. Louis Gernet, quoted in Vernant 2006: 239.

17. The term *oikoumenē* seems to have been coined by Xenophanes of Kolophon; see Geus and Rathmann 2013: 1.

18. See, e.g., Jacob 1988, 1992; Branscome 2010; Purves 2010.

19. On this passage see Jacob 1988, 1992; Dewald 1993; Pelling 2007: 195–201; Branscome 2010; Purves 2010: 118–58; Barker et al. 2013; Zali 2014: 187–203; Bichler 2016: 14–15; de Bakker 2016: 92–96; Pelling and Barker 2016.

20. For accounts of the Royal Road see D. Graf 1994; Debord 1995; Briant 2002: 357–64 (which smooths away Herodotean inconsistencies by incorporating "corrections to the manuscript tradition"); Seibert 2002; Briant 2012; Colburn 2013.

21. Branscome 2010: 30 ("Aristagoras completely omits the temporal"); Purves 2010: 118–58; Pelling and Barker 2016.

22. Jacob 1988: 289, trans. D. Branscome.

23. Purves 2010: 112.

24. Purves 2010: 145–46.

25. Barker et al. 2013: 230 (italics in original).

26. For an important exception see Naiden 2015: 216 ("Travelers' information was chronographic, not cartographic").

27. On early Greek concepts of scale (or lack thereof) see Janni 1984; Senseney 2011 (with caution), 2016.

28. Geus 2014; de Bakker 2016: 86–87; Rood 2016.

29. On the itinerant parasang see Lendle 1995: 262; Colburn 2013; Paradeisopoulos 2014, 2015.

30. On Herodotus and Persian geography see Bichler 2016. On Greek knowledge of Persian topography on the eve of Alexander's conquest, emphasizing itinerant distance, see Naiden 2015.

31. For a different but not unrelated "space-time conflation" in Herodotus (traveling as a journey into the past) see Rood 2016.

32. Online at http://www.vincentmeertens.com/project/timemaps/ (accessed 02 June 2018).

33. Janni 1984: 115–16; cf. Dueck 2005.

34. Janni 1984: 81–83.

35. Against the notion of ancient scale maps see Brodersen 1995.

36. This vagueness is a general feature of Herodotus's discussions of even very important objects; see Dewald 1993.

37. Hdt. 5.49.4: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα.

38. Dewald 1993: 64–65.

39. Geus 2014. Strabo notes that others give 40 or 60 stadia to the parasang, while Agathias cites the Persians and Georgian Iberians to get 21 stadia. Strabo 11.11.5; Agathias, *Histories* 2.21.7–8 (Keydell).

40. For general treatments of metrology see, *inter alia*, Büsing 1982; Bankel 1983; Haselberger 1996; Wilson Jones 2000; Stieglitz 2006; Wesenberg 2008. On the variable foot see Broneer 1971, app. 1. On land division see R. Martin 1973; Boyd and Jameson 1981, esp. 332, 338–39. On surveying techniques see M. J. T. Lewis 2001.

41. For the figure 40% see Geus 2014: 111. On stadia see Hornblower 1994: 26–27.

42. On Thucydides see Bauslaugh 1979; C. L. Golden 2015; on Herodotus see Geus 2014. On both see Rood 2016.

43. On the metrological reliefs see esp. Slapšak 1993, with Wesenberg 1974; Fernie 1981; Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990; Wilson Jones 2000; Wesenberg 2008. The exact provenance of the Oxford relief (Ashmolean Museum inv. A000103) is unknown; although it was acquired in East Greece/Turkey in the seventeenth century, it is

dated by style. The relief in the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus was found on Salamis.

44. For example, as Slapšak (1993: 124), reviewing Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990, writes, the length of a foot on the Hellenistic relief from Salamis (now in Piraeus) varies between 301 mm and 324.6 mm, a difference of 7.67%. The relief is said to combine no fewer than four standards, one of which is otherwise unattested and presumed to have been "local." The risk of circular reasoning is obvious, and Slapšak concludes that the relief was probably nonfunctional.

45. Oxford relief decorative: Fernie 1981; Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990: 451; Slapšak 1993: 126–28; Wilson Jones 2000: 80.

46. For architectural measurement and modules see, *inter alia*, Coulton 1975, 1977, 1989; Hoepfner 1984; Mertens 1984; Wesenberg 1995; Haselberger 1996; Wilson Jones 2001; Pakkanen 2013. Tellingly, there is no hard evidence for the use of scale drawings or models in Greek architecture before the Hellenistic period, and precious little even then. Architectural models tended to be full-scale *paradeigmata* rather than scale renderings; instead of a plan in the modern sense, architects worked from a detailed verbal description, or *sungraphē* (Coulton 1977: 51–73; Senseney 2011: 26–59; Pitt 2016: 197–98), of which we have a preserved example for the Arsenal at Piraeus (*IG* II^2 1668). The closest thing to a ground plan is the inscription of a compass-drawn circle on a stylobate to guide the placement of a column drum (cf. Schwandner 1985: 26–29, 67–72), or chalk outlines on a foundation to guide placement of blocks (Kienast 1985), all at 1:1 scale. Graphics seem to have functioned primarily as aids to the establishment of ratios between elements, as found at the Hellenistic Didymaion (Haselberger 1980, 1991).

47. For the Parthenon disputes see Bankel 1983; de Waele 1984; Hecht 1986; de Zwarte 1994; Korres 1994: 62–64; Wesenberg 1995. For a similar dispute involving the Propylaia see de Waele 1990; Eiteljorg 2005.

48. Broneer 1971: 174–81; Romano 1993, 2016. The *dromos* of the stadion at Olympia was 192.28 m; at Isthmia, 181.2 m; at Nemea, 178 m; at Halieis, 166.5 m; at Corinth, 165 m (figures from M. Golden 2004: 158). Cf. Mouratidis 2010.

49. At best, in fact, Herodotus has given a new *definition* of the stadion as, exactly, 1/30th of a parasang. That is, his algorithm makes perfect sense if we take a "Persian" perspective and assume that the parasang is a determinate quantity or range of quantities. However, that does not seem to be his intent.

50. Baker and Hacker 2009: 329 (italics added).

51. Cf. Kripke 1982; McDowell 1998: 221–62.

52. When discussing parasangs at both 2.6 and 5.53, Herodotus uses the verb δύναμαι, roughly "to have the force of," to signify equality, not ἴσος or any variant thereof. For a historical review of the term ἴσος in Plato and before see Sedley 2007.

53. It need not follow that Herodotus envisioned anything so specific as an ancient version of the maps by Sugiura and Meertens; again, a certain productive vagueness is essential to his procedure.

54. There is no reason to suppose that the map encoded the latter sort of information: Herodotus implies that it is Aristagoras's own embellishment (and, again,

the story may be his own invention!). De Bakker (2016: 94–95) notes the obfuscation but nonetheless concludes that the map, not the disingenuous tyrant, is to blame.

55. On this use of the verb δύνασθαι to connote value see Szabó 1978: 36–40; Vitrac 2008.

56. *IG* I³ 1453 (ca. 414 BCE). For recent overviews see Kroll 2009 (Athens); Psoma 2015 (general).

57. For an important statement of the connection between sovereignty and concepts of space in early Greece, with emphasis on the maps of Anaximander and Hekataios, see Munn 2006: 178–220. The classic, albeit flawed study of mathematics as a political concept in Classical Greece is Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1995.

58. On Kleomenes as a good reader see Dewald 1993.

59. This impious phrase comes near the end of Aristagoras's speech and directly contradicts its opening, which exhorted Kleomenes in the name of "the gods of the Hellenes" (πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων, 5.49.3) to help the Ionians. On the theme of Greek piety versus Persian hubris in Herodotus see Harrison 2000.

60. The classic critique of phenomenology's idealization of geometry is Derrida 1989.

61. Knorr 1975.

62. Cf. Neugebauer 1973: 35–36; Knorr 1975; Berka 1983: 37–42.

63. *Dunamis*, interestingly, becomes a way to talk about exponents, as in "to the second power," and equality is *isos*. See, e.g., Plato, *Theaetetus* 147c–148b, with Knorr 1975: 65–69.

64. von Fritz 1945; Knorr 1975: 21–60.

65. Thomson 1930: 64.

66. Ceccarelli 2016 is very much in this spirit, although our approach is different.

67. For the basic opposition of monody and choral lyric see Stehle 1997; Kurke 2000, 2007a. In spite of the skeptical position of Harvey 1955: 159n3; Davies 1988; Heath 1988; Lefkowitz 1991: 191–206 (challenging the reality of the distinction between choral lyric and monody), there is a great deal of internal evidence of opposition of formal features to support it; cf. Nagy 1990b: 85n14.

68. For the denotation and connotations of *agalma* see Gernet 1981b; Day 2010: 85–129; also highly relevant is Keesling 2017b. For the analogy of song to sacrifice see Svenbro 1984; Kurke 2005, 2012; Kowalzig 2007b: 1–12, 69–72. For the analogy of song to dedication see Day 1989, 1994, 2000, 2010, 2013; Kurke 1991: 104–5, 188–92 (= 2013b: 91–93, 163–67), 1998, 2012, 2016; Steiner 1993, 2001: 251–94; Depew 2000.

69. Kowalzig 2007b: 59–68.

70. See Kowalzig 2007b: 13–55 for the general model and Kowalzig 2007b: 56–128 for paians on Delos. For the power of choral lyric to connect the present performance with mythic heroes, the gods, and the dead see also Mullen 1982: 46–89; Burnett 1985: 5–14; for mimesis as "ritual reenactment" in choral poetry see Nagy 1990b: 42–44, 346–81, 1994–95, 1996: 7–103.

71. For the community-building function of choral lyric ("model for and model of") see Stehle 1997: 18–21, 26–169; P. Wilson 2003; Kowalzig 2004, 2005, 2007b.

For fusion or interidentification between chorus and audience see Peponi 2009; Kurke 2012; Olsen 2017. For the importance of theoric poetry in the Greek context see Rutherford 2004, 2013; Kowalzig 2005, 2007b.

72. For the model of ritualization and what it entails see C. Bell 1992. Bell's notion of "ritualized bodies" formed by repeated ritual action builds on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (on which see Bourdieu 1977: 72–198, 1990: 52–134). For the coercive power of ritual see also Bloch 1974; Tambiah 1985: 123–66. For application of Bell's model to the reading of Greek choral poetry in context see Kurke 2005.

73. Thus Nagy 1990b: 345–49, 377, following Calame 1977: 2:140–42. For evidence for repeated reperformance of Alkman's poetry in Sparta see Herington 1985: 25–26, 54–55, 207–8; Nagy 1990b: 344–49. For the initiatory function of Alkman's partheneia see Calame 1977, 1997: 207–65, with the important modifications of Stehle 1997: 73–93. For their civic, community-building functions see Calame 1977, 1997; Nagy 1990b: 345–49; Stehle 1997: 87–93; Peponi 2007. For their ritual functions of constituting a cosmic order see G. Ferrari 2007. For the powerful visual effects of Alkman's First Partheneion see esp. Peponi 2004.

74. Paus. 3.11.9, with Calame 1977: 1:277; Nagy 1990b: 345.

75. For paian see *Il.* 1.472-74; for *thrēnos* see *Il.* 24.720-22. On dating the beginnings of epinikion to ca. 550, assuming epinikia by Ibykos, see Barron 1984; Jenner 1986. But although these fragmentary poems give evidence of praise of athletic prowess and success, that in no way proves that they are generically epinikia; this kind of praise would be entirely at home in sympotic encomium monodically performed. For a cautious, skeptical review of the evidence see Rawles 2012. The crucial shift for the genre of epinikion, we would contend, is public performance by an amateur citizen chorus, and there is no evidence that this bizarre hybrid form preexisted Simonides in ca. 520s. For Simonidean epinikia see Schol. I.2.9a (3:214 Drachmann), asserting that Simonides first wrote praise poems for pay.

76. On different genres within epinikion in general see Kurke 1988, 1990, 1991, 2013a; Carey 1995: 95–98; Agócs 2012; Maslov 2015: 246–317. On hymns see Fränkel 1975: 435; Bundy 1986: 8n27, 45–47, 77–79; Maslov 2015: 250–51, 279. On *thrēnos*/mourning songs see Nash 1990: 85–95; Segal 1998: 133–48; Maslov 2015: 267–76, 281–86. On sympotic monody/sympotic encomium see Kurke 1990; T. Cole 1992; Carey 1995: 95–98; Clay 1999; Budelmann 2012; Maslov 2015: 251, 263–67. On inscribed dedicatory/agonistic epigram see Steiner 1993, 2001: 259–81; Day 1994, 2000, 2010, 2013; Kurke 1998; Angeli Bernardini 2000; Hubbard 2004; Fearn 2013.

77. This anomalous quality of epinikion is surprisingly rarely acknowledged, but see Fränkel 1975: 434: "The religious element in the poems is the easiest to understand. In the Greek world all high art had a religious element, and the ceremonial performance of an ode was from the first an action connected with worship. Seen from this viewpoint, the topical element, the reference to particular contemporary men and circumstances, appears as an alien element, and one is surprised that victory odes came about." Cf. Maslov 2015: 249–50.

78. For evidence of these amateur, informal compositions see Plato, *Lysis* 205a8–d4. If we accept the argument of Barrett 2007, Olympian 5 would represent a

precious preservation of one such composition—a local product that survived simply because it was attributed to Pindar and so preserved in his corpus.

79. See Carey 2007: 206–10; Kowalzig 2007b: 7; Nicholson 2016: 70.

80. Eckerman (2011, 2012) has challenged the theory of Gelzer 1985 that some short poems were composed and performed immediately at the site of the victor's win, contending that such rapid composition, training of a chorus, and performance were impracticable. But for the suggestion that epinikia may have been performed at the same games on the anniversary of the victor's win see Hubbard 2004: 75–80; cf. Currie 2004: 63, 2011: 301–8.

81. For the status and functions of the panhellenic centers see C. Morgan 1990, 1993; Neer 2007; Scott 2010. For victor statues specifically see Hyde 1921; H.-V. Herrmann 1988; Rausa 1994; Hölscher 2002; R. R. R. Smith 2007.

82. Epinikia for western colonial victors include Pindar O.1, O.2, O.3, O.4, O.5, O.6, O.10, O.11, O.12, P.1, P.2, P.3, P.4, P.5, P.6, P.9, P.12, N.1, N.9, I.2; Bacch. 3, 4, 5, 11. Hornblower 2004: 26–27 in fact argues that the development of epinikion *tout court* comes out of the colonial, western environment, and the need of these westerners to assert themselves on the panhellenic stage. For discussion and modification of Hornblower's position see Nicholson 2016: 82–85.

83. See the important discussion in Herington 1985: 41–50 and more recently Carey 2007: 200n5 (in contrast to Hubbard 2004, which argues for much wider written dissemination of individual epinikia within the guest-friendship and proxeny networks of patrons and their families). On the extent of literacy in this period see Harris 1989; R. Thomas 1992.

84. For dual performance of Olympian 6 see Gildersleeve 1890: 171; Norwood 1945: 127; Ruck 1968: 141; Carne-Ross 1979: 31, 47; Mullen 1982: 26; Adorjáni 2014: 56–66; Stamatopoulou 2014; for Olympian 1, Athanassaki 2004. Other poems for which scholars have proposed dual performance include Olympian 8 (Olympia and Aegina; Athanassaki 2011a), Pythian 4 (Thebes and Cyrene; Carey 1980), and Pythian 11 (Thebes and Sparta; Hubbard 2010).

85. For Nemean 9 see Hubbard 1992: 79–82, 107–11, 2004: 79–80; Hubbard suggests that this might apply to other poems as well, including Pythian 1, Nemean 1, and Olympian 6.

86. Thus Theotimos, *BNJ* 470 F 1 (quoted in Schol. P.5.34 [2:174-76 Drachmann]). See B. Mitchell 1966: 108–10, 2001: 95.

87. Irigoin 1952: 8; Fränkel 1975: 429–30; Herington 1985: 45–50. Note that Herington already suggests that families might have mounted more formal reperformances on the anniversary of the victory; this suggestion is taken up and elaborated in Currie 2004, 2011: 307–8, 2017.

88. N.4.13-16; cf. 89-90. On this passage and its implications for reperformance see Fränkel 1975: 430; K. A. Morgan 1993: 11–12; Morrison 2007: 15–19, 2012: 111–13. Currie (2004: 57–58) has argued against the implication of sympotic reperformance for this passage, but as Carey (2007: 209) notes, there is absolutely no support in the text for Currie's alternative interpretation of full-scale choral performance, whereas Currie's rejection of a sympotic implication for the participle κλιθείς is unjustified and ignores the Pindaric parallel of

O.1.92 (on which see Krummen 1990: 164–65). Currie's response (2017: 188–201) is not convincing.

89. For the evidence see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1355–58; Eupolis frr. 148, 398 K-A; Plato, *Protagoras* 325e–326b; these literary sources tend to be supported by representations of school scenes in fifth-century Attic vase painting. On all this material see Irigoin 1952: 9, 12–20; Herington 1985: 45–46, 187–88, 203–6; Nagy 1990b: 106–8, 405–10; Loscalzo 2003: 118–19.

90. Hubbard 2004: 75–80; cf. Loscalzo 2003: 116–18; Currie 2011: 307–8.

91. Currie 2004, 2011, 2017; cf. Loscalzo 2003: 103–6.

92. Carey 1995: 95, 2007: 200–203, citing the examples of Olympian 3 and Pythian 5 as poems for autocrats performed in a festival setting (Theoxenia for the former; Karneia for the latter). But, as Carey acknowledges, Olympians 7 and 9 and possibly Pythian 11 seem to have been performed at festivals in nonautocratic states. Currie (2004: 63–64n60, 2011: 270–300, following Krummen 1990: 33–97, 275–76) argues for a much more expansive set of poems commissioned by private citizens but performed as part of civic festivals that might therefore qualify for repeated choral reperformance (I.4, N.1, N.10). But we agree with Carey (2007: 202) that in all these cases the internal evidence of the poems is ambiguous. Indeed, we would contend that the ambiguity is precisely the point; epinikion is interested in conjuring the effects of choral cult song without necessarily actually being it. Currie's approach seems excessively literal-minded and is informed by his argument that epinikion aims to confer hero-cult honors on its *laudandi* (autocrats and private citizens alike). That framework works best if we play up as much as possible the actual cult contexts of performance, but this elides the crucial *differences* between epinikian commemoration and hero-cult honor. For similar criticism of Currie's larger argument see Nicholson 2007: 215–21, 2016; K. A. Morgan 2008.

93. Cf. Nagy 1994–95: 19–22. Nagy's notion of "overloading" is followed by, e.g., Athanassaki 2004, 2011a; Kurke 2017. For a related perspective on the multiple fictive settings and performance registers conjured up by Pindaric epinikion see Agócs 2012; Budelmann 2012; Maslov 2015: 246–59.

94. Farnell (1932: 59) notoriously judged Olympian 8 to be a sloppy and hasty composition; Athanassaki (2011a: 259–65) instead follows Nagy to argue for the overloading of different performance cues in this ode.

95. On the distinctiveness of these effects, mainly produced by the intrusive Pindaric ego in transitions and break-offs, see Carey 1995. For recent attempts to take seriously the jumps, disjunctions, and discontinuities of Pindaric epinikion see Maslov 2015; Fearn 2017.

96. On deixis in Greek lyric see Danielewicz 1990; Felson 1999; Bonifazi 2001; and the essays in the special issue of *Arethusa* edited by Felson (2004).

97. See, e.g., the *schéma annexe* at the end of Calame 1977, vol. 2, laying out all the different scholarly interpretations for all the deictics and pronouns in Alkman fr. 1 *PMG*; cf. Peponi 2004.

98. Benveniste 1971.

99. On this point see esp. Bonifazi 2001, 2004; cf. Felson 1999, 2004a; F. Ferrari 2012: 171–72.

100. For effects of vividness see Felson 1999, 2004b; Athanassaki 2004. For the concept of "vicarious transport" see Felson 1999.

101. This is very much the emphasis of Bonifazi 2001, 2004; Fearn 2017.

102. For the ends of the earth see P.10, O.3 (end), N.3, N.4; Bacch. 3, with discussion in Romm 1992: 17–18; see also above, chapter 1, n. 9. For the underworld (with landmarks) see O.2, O.14; Bacch. 5. For Olympos, P.2 (Ixion), N.1, N.10, I.4, I.8.

103. Rutherford 2001: 196, citing Paus. 9.26.1 and Strabo 9.2.34.

104. Nicholson 2016: 64–68; cf. Maslov 2015: 252.

105. Nicholson 2016: 68. Nicholson is specifically comparing the geography of epinikion to more local, land-/territory-based oral traditions of athlete-heroes, but his observations are very pertinent to our project as well.

106. Nicholson 2016: 67–68; cf. Nicholson 2018: 58–59. For the connection of mobility with a particular genre of choral song see Kowalzig 2013 on the dithyramb; much of what she notes for that genre could be applied to epinikion as well.

107. Fränkel, though normally a sensitive reader of Pindaric poetry, gets this precisely wrong, asserting that in contrast to Aeschylus, Pindar "was quite uninfluenced by the lively interest in geography then current. Here again it was not ignorance that was the cause: the much-travelled poet was no stranger to geography. His many passages in praise of cities and countries are true to nature, and he attributes to them the features that they actually possessed; but their spatial location receives no attention from him—the points of the compass are never mentioned." (1975: 491–93, quotation from p. 491). This is because Fränkel is looking for something like our modern map-based conceptualizations of the world; notice that he specifically says that Pindar does not mention the cardinal compass points. But for Pindar everything is about landmarks, the itineraries they form, and hodological space, not the space of the map/grid. On the cardinal points in antiquity see Janni 1988.

108. Mullen 1982: 24; Heath 1988; Bremer 1990; Agócs 2012: 194–96; Maslov 2015: 256–57.

109. In contrast, Bacchylides never calls his song "this *kōmos*," but instead locates these spontaneous sympotic celebrations at some remove, as one element that marks the joyous reception of the victor's success in his home city. See Bacch. 9.103, 11.12, 12.37, 13.74, and cf. fr. 4, line 68 (from a paian), where *kōmoi* figure as one characteristic concern of young men in the city enjoying peace. Cf. Agócs 2012: 196, 221–22.

110. Carey 1995: 95; Bremer 1990: 55–58.

111. Agócs 2012.

112. Cf. O.11.16, where Pindar addresses the imperative συγκωμάξατ' apparently to the Muses, who will join him in the revel at the victor's home in Epizephyrian Lokroi. For Pindar's magical *kōmos* in Nemean 9 see Mullen 1982: 25; Agócs 2012: 205–6; Currie 2017: 206–7.

113. See Nemean 5 and Olympian 6 for other examples of *kōmoi*, literal and figurative, framing individual odes and arcing between the site of the games and the victor's home.

114. As Nicholson 2016: 73–74 emphasizes, even the epinikia of Bacchylides we have (from a major papyrus purchased by the British Museum in 1896) are often fragmentary and lacunose. Simonides composed perhaps as many as seven books of epinikia (see Irigoin 1952: 38; Lowe 2007: 174–75), but we have only pathetically small fragments preserved. So our best set of evidence is Pindar's forty-four preserved epinikia, with almost no complete poems by other poets as a comparison set. Cf. Mullen 1982: 98–99.

115. On ring composition in Greek poetry in general see van Otterlo 1948; Whitman 1958 (both on Homer). On ring composition as a form of structural organization in high-style texts throughout the world (including ancient Greek examples) see Douglas 2007. The classic study of ring composition in Pindar is Illig 1932; for excellent examples of analysis of ring composition in Bacchylides see Maehler 2004: 84–85, 102, 109–10, 136–38.

116. Carne-Ross 1979: 30, 49–50 notes this verbal echo.

117. For the paradoxical workings of the myth here as an assertion of the power of song itself see Köhnken 1971: 181–87.

118. Note that the epexegetic infinitive θαυμάσαι is, strictly speaking, redundant and unnecessary to the meaning; Pindar could just as well have said, "To me, nothing ever appears unbelievable when the gods accomplish [it]." θαυμάσαι is included here simply to close the ring with θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν.

119. Mullen 1982: 90–142.

120. Mullen 1982: 117–26.

121. Mullen 1982: 100–117. In addition, as Mullen notes, "virtually every speech of a god or a hero in the epinicians either occurs entirely within an epode or is so enjambed that its climactic moment occurs there" (134).

122. See Mullen 1982: 128–31 for the concept of "epodic arrest," and his appendix (225–30) for a full collection of late accounts of triadic dance.

123. Ben Jonson translated the Greek terms strophe, antistrophe, and epode as "Turn," "Counterturn," and "Stand," respectively, in his "To the Immortal Memory and Friendship of that Noble Pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir Henry Morrison." For use of these terms for Pindar see Nisetich 1980; Mullen 1982: ix, 127.

124. Mullen 1982: 133–37, quotation from p. 137.

125. Mullen 1982: 102–3, 134–35. Mullen notes that the structure and placement of the encounter are exactly parallel to the equivalent scene of Pelops and Poseidon in Olympian 1.

126. Mullen 1982: 110, discussing Olympians 1, 2, and 10, Pythian 1, and Nemean 10.

127. Mullen notes separately (1982: 105, 113, 122, 140) the significant content of each of these epodes but does not put them together as a symmetrical pedimental structure. It is perhaps significant that Battos is only finally named as "Aristoteles" ("best end") in the narrative of the third epode.

128. Mullen 1982: 131.

Chapter 2. Statues, Songs, and Spaces

1. On spatiality in Stevens see J. H. Miller 1996: 255–90. The poem is mentioned briefly in Tuan 1977: 162.

2. Likewise, Stevens's word order is such that it is not immediately obvious that the phrase "round it was" is adjectival and not prepositional—that it describes the jar's shape, as opposed to expressing the position of something "round about." The sense becomes apparent only when the sentence ends.

3. The jar is, in fact, a traditional Stoic illustration of the concept of *chōra*, space, in ancient philosophy; see, e.g., Stobaeus 1.161, 8–26; Cicero, *On fate* 21–25.

4. On this score there is much of value in F. D. Martin 1981, despite its dated vocabulary.

5. On "embedment" in this sense see Fried 2011: 91–120, borrowing the term from the sculptor Charles Ray.

6. For this kind of project see Steiner 2001 and Fearn 2017.

7. For a general discussion of the placement of sculpture see Stemmer 1995.

8. On this distinction see Aristotle, *On Interpretation* 16a16–19, with de Rijk 1996.

9. Dunkley 1935–36; Blétry 2001.

10. For the Olympia lion see Mallwitz 1980: 135–36. Preserved gutter spouts are much more common than preserved fountain spouts from the Archaic and Classical periods. For the latter, a pair of bronze lion's heads from the Sacred Spring at Corinth are representative: see fig. 2.5 and Hill 1964: 164–70, figs. 102–5.

11. There do exist exceptions to this rule, notably in the corpus of plastic vessels, but it generally holds for large-scale sculpture. Athenian vase painters could lampoon the type: on a black-figure amphora of the last quarter of the sixth century, Herakles flees in terror from a spring that has been carved to resemble a lion, while Hermes gesticulates (London, British Museum 1837,0609.45; *CVA* British Museum 4: 6 and pl. 56.3a); compare also the Phineus Cup in Würzburg (inv. L 164; BADN 18504), which rings the changes on masks and spouts of various kinds.

12. Himmelmann 2003: 7–51; Patton 2009: 3–180 (including a comprehensive review of extant literature; on Himmelmann see 148–53). On libation see also Gaifman 2013, 2018.

13. For testimonia see *DNO*, nos. 558–62. For recent discussions of the Tyrannicides and their afterlives see J. Shear 2012a, 2012b; Azoulay 2014; Hölscher 2014; Arrington 2015: 70–73; Keesling 2017a: 23–28; A. F. Stewart 2017. Key earlier discussions include Brunnsåker 1971; Fehr 1984; Taylor 1991; A. F. Stewart 1997: 70–75; Hölscher 1998a: 158–63, 1998b: 85–87. On Baiae casts see Landwehr 1985. For the location of the statues see Paus. 1.8.4-6; Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.16.8; Valerius Maximus 20.10, ext. 1; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 157–58; Azoulay 2014: 195–201 (south end of the agora); Keesling 2015 (north end, "east of the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus, and not far from the 'crossroads enclosure' "). The present discussion condenses and at times cribs from Neer 2010: 78–85.

14. On the migration of the agora see chapter 4, below.

15. On the vexed question of the surface treatment of ancient bronzes (patination and color effects) see Mattusch 1996: 24–34; Wünsche 2004; Descamps-Lequime 2015; Jockey, Glanville, and Seccaroni 2016. For literary sources see Muller-Dufeu 2006. Cf. an early Hellenistic inscription from Erythrai in Asia Minor ordering that the statue of the local tyrannicide Philites be kept "crowned and shining" (ὅπως στεφανωθήσεταί τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἔσται): *I.Erythrai* 503, *SEG* 32-1143. For the important observation that the polychromy of marble statues would, to Greek eyes, have enhanced rather than detracted from their radiance, as color was perceived as brilliant in itself, see Manzelli 1994; Manfrini 2009: 31–33.

16. Simonides fr. 131 Bergk; *CEG* 430. The base is Athens, Agora inv. I 3872. On the poem see Carson 1999: 91–92.

17. I.2.17. Cf. also the enigmatic Mimnermos fr. 14.11 W: ὅτ᾽ αὐγῇσιν φέρετ᾽ ὠκέος ἠελίοιο ("when he rushed [with his bronze armour gleaming like?] the rays of the swift sun," trans. Gerber).

18. On the location of the agora see chapter 4, below. We do not know where the older Tyrannicides group (by Antenor) stood before being removed by the Persians in 480 BCE. The chief problem is that the date of the first group is controversial: although Pliny dates it to 509/8 BCE and links it to the expulsion of the kings from Rome, A. E. Raubitschek argued that the synchronism was suspect and that the monument could not have been erected before the ostracism of the last Peisistratid (Hipparchos son of Charmos) in 488/87 BCE. If Pliny's date is correct, then the group will almost certainly have stood in the old, Archaic agora; if Raubitschek's is correct, then it may well have stood in the new, Classical one. See Raubitschek 1940.

19. Hölscher 1998a: 158–63, 1998b: 85–87, 2014.

20. On victor statues in general see H.-V. Herrmann 1988; Rausa 1994; R. R. R. Smith 2007; Scott 2010: 195–201. For dedications by Pindaric victors see *CEG* 393 (Erogoteles, O.12); Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 151 (Diagoras, O.7).

21. Hausmann 1977; Zimmer 2015.

22. Aegina and Athens: Niemeyer 1964; R. Thomas 1981; Walter-Karydi 1987: 93–94; Rolley 1994: 329–30.

23. On the typological relation of statuettes to larger images (mostly cultic) see Alroth 1988, 1989; Beschi 1988. On the aesthetics of scale in Classical figurines see Neer, forthcoming, and, more generally, Smith and Bergeron 2011; Martin and Langin-Hooper 2018.

24. On Timarchos/Onatas see *IG* I^3 773; *CEG* 243; *DNO*, no. 512; Kaczko 2016, no. 63. For athlete statuettes as votives on the Athenian Acropolis (totaling 11) see Niemeyer 1964, with Keesling 2003b: 171–72, 234n93. One of these athletes, dating to ca. 470-460 BCE and stylistically quite close to the Tübingen runner, bears an inscription identifying it as the dedication of one Philaios to Athena as a tithe (*dekatē*): hιερὸς ⁝ τε͂ς Ἀθεναίας *vacat.* | Φιλαίου ⁝ δεκάτε (Athens, National Museum 6614; *IG* I^3 542; Niemeyer 1964: 26–27; R. Thomas 1981: 26–27; Rolley 1994: 330; Neils 2000: 79; Jim 2014: 150). The strong implication is that the tithe is from an athletic victory, hence that the statuette is a victory monument. In addition, up to

23 stone bases and columns from the Acropolis supported statuettes either singly or in groups (Kissas 2000: 9–10; Keesling 2003b: 84 and nn. 106–7). Up to 10 of the bases likely supported figures of Athena Promachos, but some of the others could have supported athletes. See also Sinn 1989 for the suggestion that small bronzes could also have been offered *before* contests, in hope of victory. On the display of bronze statuettes generally see Sharpe 2016. On the difference between an honorific statue and a private dedication see Keesling 2017a: 19–52.

25. *IG* I^3 847; Raubitschek 1949: 124–25 no. 120; Rausa 1994: 67, 69; Keesling 2003b: 171–72; *DNO*, nos. 563–64; A. F. Stewart 2017: 40–41. It has sometimes been suggested that a large bronze head of a warrior from the Acropolis (Athens, National Museum 6446) might also belong to a *hoplitodromos* (cf. Keesling 2003b: 196). Probable large-scale *hoplitodromoi* in marble include the so-called Leonidas from Sparta (Sparta, Museum 3365; Kaltsas 2006, cat. no. 117; R. R. R. Smith 2007: 118); a large-scale marble torso from Paros (Hausmann 1977: 61–62 and plates 13–14); and two heads from Olympia (Hausmann 1977: 62–65; Keesling 2017a: 83–86).

26. Paus. 1.23.9: "The likeness of Epicharinos who trained in the race in armor was made by Kritias [*sic*]" (Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὁπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας).

27. On the iconographical indeterminacy of seminude warriors Keesling 2017a: 126–28.

28. Fischer-Heetfield 1977.

29. The Tübingen figure is generally dated by style to the 480s BCE; Epicharinos's dedication must have been post-Persian, or else Pausanias could not have seen it.

30. For the comparison of the Tübingen figure and the Zeus see R. Thomas 1981; Rolley 1994. For smaller versions of the type see Degrassi 1981. On Classical figures throwing objects into the space of the beholder see Neer 2010: 86–91. On the Classical iconography of Zeus, which eventually moves away from such figures, see Barringer 2015. Cf. also Ralph Krumeich's very plausible restoration of the dedication of Hegelochos on the Athenian Acropolis, signed by Kritios and Nesiotes, as a seminude warrior hurling a spear: Keesling 2017a: 124–28 and fig. 39, with earlier references. All these figures derive ultimately from Near Eastern "smiting" gods; the difference between Classical figures and their antecedents consists precisely in the extent to which the former emphasize movement into the beholder's space.

31. On the motif see Beazley 1951.

32. On plays of circles see Lissarrague 2009.

33. This pleonastic doubling up of medium and representational content has numerous analogues on the shield of Achilleus; see Squire 2013: 184n22.

34. On the puzzling etymology of ἑκάεργος see Chantraine 1968–80, s.v. ἑκάεργος.

35. Apollo, the "far-working" god of light, reminds Achilleus of this limitation at the beginning of book 22: "'Why, son of Peleus, do you keep after me in the speed of your feet, being mortal, while I am an immortal god?'" (τίπτε με, Πηλέος

υἱέ, ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκεις, αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἐὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον; *Il.* 22.8-9, trans. Lattimore). Even the fastest mortal is not "swift as thought." By contrast, the Harpies, daughters of Wonder and Radiance (*Thaumas* and *Elektra*), are so fast that they leave themselves behind: μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἴαλλον, says Hesiod, literally, "they fly along after themselves" (Hesiod, *Theogony* 269; cf. Neer 2010: 137). Although it is usual to take μεταχρόνιαι as equivalent to μετέωροι, "high off the ground," that is not the plain meaning of the word.

36. In effect, "much fiery heat," πολλὸς πυρετός, will consume Troy. Cf. *Il.* 22.317-20 (Achilleus's spearpoint gleams "like the Evening Star" at the moment he is about to strike the fatal blow to Hektor).

37. Cf. Neer 2010: 86–88. For the image of a "meaning missile" cf. Pindar, O.2.82-86, O.9.6-8, comparing his own poetry to arrows.

38. The aesthetics of miniaturization was long neglected by historians of Classical art, but see Smith and Bergeron 2011; Squire 2011; Martin and Langin-Hooper 2018; Neer, forthcoming. The study of terracotta figurines tends to be a discrete subfield: for a survey of recent work see Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2015. The situation is different in Hellenistic: see Bartman 1992 and esp. Squire 2011: 247–302, which in turn takes some of its bearings from the classic discussion in S. Stewart 1993. On Bronze Age miniatures see Tournavitou 2009, with earlier bibliography.

39. On *thauma* Prier 1989 is indispensable, esp. pp. 91–97. See also Mette 1961; Philipp 1968: 8–10; Jouanna 1992; Hunzinger 1994, 1995, 2001, 2005, 2015; Pugliara 2002: 8–12, 62–66; Neer 2010: 20–69 and passim; Steiner 2014.

40. This section essentially reproduces parts of Neer 2010, 2014.

41. *Il.* 5.722-29 (chariot wheel), 10.439-41 (armor of Rhesos), 18.82-85 (armor of Peleus), 18.373-79 (tripods of Hephaistos); *Od.* 6.305-6 (yarn of Arete), 7.44-45 (walls of Phaiakia), 8.364-66 (garments of Aphrodite), 13.105-8 (weaving of Naiads at Ithaka). See also [Hesiod], *Shield of Herakles* 140, 218, 224, 318.

42. For Pandora see Hesiod, *Theogony* 575, 581, 588, with Faraone 1992: 100–102; Saintillan 1996; Vernant 2011.

43. Neer 2010.

44. We follow Hesychius (s.v. λάων), Chantraine 1948: 355, Prier 1980, and others in translating the verb λάων (*Od.* 19.229, 230) as "to behold, look upon."

45. There is a remarkable, and unique, acoustic counterpart at Hesiod, *Theogony* 834, where we are told that Typhoeus's multiple heads "woofed like puppies, wonders to hear" (αὖ σκυλάκεσσιν ἐοικότα, θαύματ' ἀκοῦσαι). The onomatopoetic αὖ (the Greek particle meaning "again," but also, in the form αὖ αὖ or αὗ αὗ, the Greek version of "bow-wow" or "woof") makes the poet's own verse an acoustic "likeness" or *eikōn* of sorts, hence a wonder in its own right. (Note the fourfold repetition of αὖτε or αὖ in five lines at *Theogony* 831–35, which reinforces this effect.)

46. On twofoldness see Wollheim 1998; Kemp and Mras 2016.

47. Prier 1989: 97–108.

48. On the tower of Akeratos see J. H. Young 1956: 132; Osborne 1986: 168, 169, 173, 178 no. 29; Kozelj and Wurch-Kozelj 1989: 172–75; Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 157–58; Morris and Papadopoulos 2005: 174. Young, followed by Osborne, doubted

that the tower was a lighthouse as opposed to a landmark. Since they wrote, Kozelj and Wurch-Kozelj 1989 have shown that the tower must have borne a platform made of a different stone from the rest of the edifice; a nearby lighthouse at Phanari bore a platform of fire-resistant stone, and it seems extremely likely that Akeratos's tower had something similar. On Akeratos himself see Pouilloux 1989.

49. *IG* XII.8 683; *IG* XII Suppl. 412; *CEG* 162; Duchêne 1992: 111–12 no. 2.

50. "To Herakles Akeratos dedicated me, he who was the only man to be archon over the Thasians and Parians at the same time; he passed amongst the tribes of men on many embassies for the city; for the sake of his everlasting manly virtue" (Ἡρακλεῖ μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκήρατος, ὃς Θασίοισιν καὶ Π[αρίοι]ς ἦρχσεν μοῦνος ἐν ἀνφοτέροις, | πολλὰς δ' ἀνγελίας πρὸ πόλεως κατὰ φῦλα διῆλθεν ἀν[θρώπ]ων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν ἀιδίης, *IG* XII Suppl. 412; *CEG* 416; Duchêne 1992: 110–11 no. 1). For a similarly well-traveled dedicant compare Python of Abdera, who at Piraeus presented an *agalma* to Hermes sometime in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, "having looked in admiration on many cities," πολλὰς θησάμενος πόληας (*IG* I^{3} 1018; *CEG* 316; Kaczko 2016, no. 133); the inscription contrasts the stasis of the monument with the mobility of the man.

51. Pouilloux 1989: 196. Full publication of the inscription in its architectural context(s) is imminent in Hamon, forthcoming.

52. The exact nature of Akeratos's dual archonship has been the subject of considerable controversy; the issue is not directly relevant to the present discussion. See Pouilloux 1989 with *SEG* 39-908.

53. See, e.g., the stele of Mnasitheos in Thebes (inv. 28200): Andreiomenou 2012; Estrin 2016. Admittedly not all *mnēmata* are mortuary. Examples from sanctuary contexts include the monument of Aischylides on the Acropolis of Athens (*IG* I^{3} 635; *CEG* 207), the altar of Apollo Pythios at Athens (*IG* I^{3} 948; *CEG* 305), the monument of Praxiteles at Olympia (see p. 226), and the dedication of the Apollonians at Olympia (see pp. 78–82). It is, however, precisely because it is *not* in a sanctuary context that Akeratos's inscription reads as sepulchral: the anchorage, here, is analogous to the roadways that feature so prominently in epitaphs. Spatial context guides reading even as the monument articulates, and modifies, that same context.

54. Pouilloux 1989: 196–97. For the monument see Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 69–70. For a recent discussion of the term *mnēma*, "memorial," and Archaic tomb sculpture see Estrin 2016: 196–202 and passim, with earlier bibliography.

55. Also from Thasos is the epitaph of Laeretē, another *mnēma*, roughly contemporary with the tower of Akeratos: *IG* XII.8 398; *CEG* 161; Duchêne 1992: 113 no. 5.

56. The tower of Akeratos is apparently the earliest of all the towers on Thasos. On monumental built tombs see Dekoulakou 2001 (Salamis); Koenigs, Knigge, and Mallwitz 1980 (the so-called *Rundbau* in the Athenian Kerameikos); and the cenotaph of Menekrates on Corfu (see below).

57. Both J. H. Young (1956: 132) and Pouilloux (1989: 198) suggest in passing that the tower could be a cenotaph.

58. On Menekrates see *IG* IX.1 867; Meiggs and Lewis 1989, no. 4; *CEG* 143; ca. 600 BCE. The lion frequently associated with the monument probably does not belong: cf. Rodenwaldt 1939: 176–89. Other cenotaphs of men lost at sea are for Dweinias (*IG* XII Suppl. 180; *CEG* 166; ca. 600 BCE) and Sosikratides of Sikinos (*IG* IV 358; *CEG* 132; fifth century BCE); the latter identifies itself as a *mnēma*.

59. Archilochos fr. 11 W.

60. The tower will have contrasted with the boundary stones (*stēlai*) that, according to Xenophon, the Thracians near Salmydessos set up on the coastline to demarcate areas within which different groups had the right to plunder shipwrecked sailors (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.15.3)—an encounter that Archilochos, or perhaps Hipponax, literally wished on his worst enemy (Hipponax fr. 115 W, the "Strasbourg epode").

61. One might compare the two stelai that Herodotus claimed to have seen in the temple of Melqart at Tyre in Phoenicia, a god strongly identified with the Thasian Herakles—the very god, in fact, to whom Akeratos made his offering: "two stelai, one of refined gold, the other a great big one of emerald-stone that shone in the night-time" (στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος, 2.44.2). The bright *mnēma* on Thasos was clearly intended to have a similar effect—aniconic, upright, shining at night—and one wonders whether this well-traveled archon might have known of, or even seen, the Tyrian pillars. For recent discussions of Melqart-Herakles on Thasos see Malkin 2011: 119–42; Parker 2017: 196–97. For architecture and radiance in a Near Eastern context see McMahon 2013.

62. *Od*. 16.23, 17.41; cf. *Il*. 6.6, 8.282, 11.797, 16.38-39, 16.95, 17.615, 18.102, 20.95, 21.538. On *phaos* see Ciani 1974; Prier 1989: 55–56.

63. On these passages see Nagy 1979: 338–43. Cf. also the *mikros lithos* that protects the harbor of Phaistos from waves at *Od*. 3.296.

64. Euripides, *Hekabe* 1259–73. "With fiery glances": πύρσ' ἔχουσα δέργματα (1265). In some versions she became a dog on land; for discussion see de Polignac 2016: 245–46. For the location of the supposed tomb see Thuc. 8.104-6; Strabo 13.28; Pliny, *Natural History* 4.49; Suda, s.v. Κυνόσημον. As de Polignac 2016 has emphasized, however, there were several Kynosemata around the Aegean.

65. On the *terma* see pp. 78–82 (Apollonian monument at Olympia). On *horoi* from Aegina (of the sort illustrated in fig. 2.21) see Polinskaya 2009.

66. Brauron, Museum. Cf. Peek 1935; Aloni 2000; R. A. Tomlinson 2002. On the Hipparchan herms see Shapiro 1989: 125–26.

67. *IG* I^3 1023; *CEG* 304.

68. Jean-Paul Sartre's definition of the hodological is relevant here. "Objects are revealed to us at the heart of a complex of instrumentality in which they occupy a determined place. This place is not defined by pure spatial co-ordinates but in relation to axes of practical reference. . . . The space which is originally revealed to me is hodological space; it is furrowed with paths and highways; it is instrumental and it is the location of tools." Sartre 1956: 321.

69. On estrangement see Shklovsky 1965; in Greek aesthetics, Porter 2010: 76–81. It bears emphasis that this term does not refer to a first-person "interpretation" of phenomena or to the "meaning" of this or that sign, but rather to the historical conditions of signs and interpretations, *sēmata* and *noēseis*, in the first place.

70. Of course, it is not absolutely clear that the tower really is nonfigural. Homer, as we have seen, assimilates bright heroes to beacons and suggests that the gods can kindle fire from the heads of men; the solitary kouros of Aristodikos (Athens, National Museum 3938), marking a roadside grave in rural Attica, was a youth of white marble with hair painted a brilliant red (Brinkmann 2003, no. 170; the red may have been the ground for another color, perhaps brown); early Greek lamps could use a protome as a wick holder, offering the conceit of a person with a flaming head (see Neer 2018). In these circumstances, it would seem parochial to deny categorically the possibility of seeing a fiery white tower in the Thasian headland as, in some extended sense, a depiction of the man it commemorated. Most of the time, however, a tower is presumably just a tower, whatever alternate ways of seeing it might afford.

71. For "virtual space" cf. Langer 1953: 86; Hopkins 2003, 2010. For related issues in the study of Greek theater see, e.g., Edmunds 1996. We prefer "diegetic" as being less loaded than "virtual."

72. Complete identification of the two would be tantamount to hallucination, a basic failure to recognize the sculpture as a sculpture. Such things no doubt do happen. Yet even the most appreciative beholder of the Tyrannicides did not think him- or herself actually transported back to 514 BCE; the very idea would be inimical to commemorative statuary, which presupposes a distinction between the present of the monument and the past of the person or event it honors. For this point, with particular reference to the Aphrodite of Knidos (often alleged to have induced, or held out the promise of, just such a hallucination), see Neer 2017.

73. Wittgenstein 2009, §§I.203, II.180.

74. Wittgenstein 2009, §II.249.

75. On Archaic and early Classical groups see Eckstein 1969; Ioakimidou 1997; Jacquemin 1999; Bumke 2004. Equestrian figures (Eaverly 1995) pose a problem: paired horsemen, even on separate bases, could represent the Dioskouroi and thereby imply some narrative context. Yet it is unclear whether any such groups actually exist; the so-called Rampin Rider has been shown to be a singleton (Trianti 1998; Hamiaux 2001: 88–89), and the best candidate is an ambiguous set of figures from Delos (Jockey 1993). For small-scale groups see, e.g., Bumke 2004: 156, 161. On groups of terracotta figurines see Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2007: 241–42; Albertocchi 2013; Salapata 2015.

76. Ioakimidou 1997.

77. On the Naxian lions (downdating to late sixth–early fifth century BCE) see Kokkorou-Alewras 1993; Barlou 2014. For other rows of iterated figures see Bumke 2004: 69–80. The ultimate inspiration is doubtless Egyptian.

78. Tuchelt et al. 1996; Herda 2006: 343–49.

79. On the Liparians at Delphi see Paus. 10.11.3, 10.16.7; Ioakimidou 1997: 47ff. no. 5, 2000: 65–69; Jacquemin 1999: 121–22 no. 337; Bumke 2004: 70 and n. 381;

Scott 2010: 92 no. 116; Cavaliere 2013: 71–81 (an exhaustive review); Bommelaer 2016: 178–79. The Cheramyes korai from Samos (Kyrieleis 1995; Karakasi 2003: 13–34; Duplouy 2006: 197–203; Franssen 2011: 65–69, 94–101) give some sense of the effect; we do not, however, know their original arrangement.

80. Tuchelt et al. 1996 (arguing for initial placement in the sanctuary of Apollo and subsequent displacement); Dupluoy 2006: 203–15 (arguing for initial placement on the Sacred Way); Herda 2006: 329–32.

81. Kyrieleis 1995: 15n26; Duplouy 2006: 200. Even the famous Geneleos group from the Heraion on Samos stands on a base that was renovated in the Roman era: Kienast 1992; von Steuben 1989; Bumke 2004: 83; see also Walter-Karydi 1985.

82. De La Genière 1998: 241–42.

83. See Siedentopf 1968: 48 for similar rearrangement of equestrian monuments at Olympia.

84. Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 7–13. The korai are Selçuk, Museum KL S322 (Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 21–25 no. 1) and Izmir, Museum 3708 (Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 25–33 no. 2). See Karakasi 2003: 56–58.

85. Initial reports suggested that the two korai had been reinstalled in the Roman period, but the final publication specifies that such was not the case. The installation of the korai in fact preceded the construction of the late Archaic altar of Artemis, which, however, almost certainly had a predecessor in the same spot. See Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 12.

86. On this twist see von Steuben 1996.

87. Lejeune and Dubois 1998; *SEG* 48-1407.

88. Lejeune and Dubois 1998; *SEG* 48-1408. Seljuk, Museum S281 (Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 47–55 no. 5).

89. Lejeune and Dubois 1998: 1150.

90. See Bumke 2004: 75–80. Examples (or possible examples) include the kouros of Ischys and the so-called *südliche Koloß* from the Heraion on Samos (Kyrieleis 1996); the Cheramyes korai from Samos (Kyrieleis 1995; Bumke 2004: 90–95); the two lions offered by the sons of Orion at Didyma (Tuchelt 1970, nos. K 66–67); Kleobis and Biton from Delphi (Brinkmann 2003, no. 206; *SEG* 53-489); and a pair of korai in the sanctuary of Apollo at Cyrene (see below, fig. 5.16). In a mortuary context, see the two kouroi from Tenea rescued from looters in 2010 and now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Corinth.

91. On the kouros near the altar see Dewailly, Pécasse, and Verger 2004: 19.

92. On the phrase *perikalles agalma* see Karouzos 1982. Cf. *Od.* 18.300; Hdt. 5.60, 61; *CEG* 335, 363, 422–23 (Cheramyes dedications at Samos), with *CEG* 327, 348, 424 (Cheramyes at Samos).

93. On the Apollonia base see Paus. 5.22.2-4; Kunze 1956: 149–53; *CEG* 390; Eckstein 1969: 15–22; Jeffery 1980: 53–54; Ioakimidou 1997: 92–97, 243–55, 2000: 73–76; Castiglioni 2003; Bumke 2004: 171–85; Barringer 2009: 231–35; Bowie 2010: 353; Scott 2010: 195; Siewert and Taeuber 2013: 89–91 no. 34; *DNO*, nos. 1078–79. There is lively debate among historians (routinely ignored by archaeologists) as to whether the Apollonians are to be identified with the Trojans or the Greeks: see Cabanes

1993; Malkin 1998: 138–40, 2001; Cabanes 2002; Lamboley 2005; Antonetti 2007, 2010; Piccinini 2011.

94. For the inner diameter of 11 m see Bumke 2004: 181. For a minority view that both Greeks and Trojans appeared on either side see Malkin 1998, followed by Piccinini 2011.

95. Bumke 2004: 183.

96. One might compare the way that Archaic and Classical gravestones urge passersby to stop, read, and mourn. On this theme see the recent overview in Tueller 2010, with earlier bibliography.

97. The poros blocks of the base's foundation course are 0.30 m high, smoothed on the outer face to a depth of 0.18 m from the top; the marble blocks supporting the statues are 0.32 m high; the blocks bearing the inscription will have been about 0.13–0.14 m high (Eckstein 1969: 17–18). Thus the approximate total height of the base will have been a little over 0.6 m. Putting the height of an adult Greek male at 1.7 m, see Kron 2005.

98. Bumke 2004: 180–81.

99. For good remarks on this effect see Bumke 2004: 170.

100. On affinities between stone markers and *anathēmata* see Antonetti, De Vido, and Drago 2013.

101. The affinity between these markers and *mnēmata* is a stock motif of mortuary epigram, but has obvious relevance at Olympia. On turning posts as grave markers see McGowan 1995. For *termata* in epigram see *CEG* 172, 390, 606. On the iconography of *termata* see Schäfer 1996: 118–21. There may be some play here on the idea of a *tropaion*, set up on a battlefield at the place where the enemy turned and ran; cf. Rabe 2008.

102. Ober 2005: 183–211. On the archaeology of *horoi* and *soroi* see Lolos 2011: 17–22; Antonetti, De Vido, and Drago 2013. On Greek borders generally see Daverio Rocchi 2016.

103. On this passage see Loraux 2005: 145–56; R. P. Martin 2006.

104. Paus. 5.25.8-10; Eckstein 1969: 27–32; Walter-Karydi 1987: 27–30; Ioakimidou 1997: 82–87; Bumke 2004: 166–71; Ajootian 2007: 121–27, 2007; Barringer 2009: 229–31; Scott 2010: 194–95; *DNO*, no. 507. The impetus for the dedication is not known. The monument is frequently cited as a possible source of the bronzes from Riace Marina; we will not address this topic.

105. Pausanias is unambiguous: "Right opposite, on a separate base, is a figure of Nestor, who has thrown the lot of each into the helmet" (ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρου βάθρου πεποίηται Νέστωρ, τὸν ἑκάστου κλῆρον ἐσβεβληκὼς ἐς τὴν κυνῆν, 5.25.8). The figure of 7 m is from Bumke 2004; Barringer 2009 reports 6.55 m.

106. Cf. Purgold 1892: 146; Eckstein 1969: 31; Ajootian 2003; Bumke 2004: 169–71; Barringer 2009: 231. Contra: see Ioakimidou 1997: 219.

107. Cf. Bumke 2004: 169–71.

108. As always with such generalizations, some hedging is necessary: the apparent absence of a given feature from earlier sculpture may be an accident of preservation. Archaic mortuary precincts could be elaborate affairs, including multi-

ple statues that may or may not have stood in a narrative relation to one another. An exceptional example is tomb 4A (seventh-century) in the cemetery at Eleutherna on Crete, which featured a kore, a male figure, a frieze of up to ten hoplites, and perhaps a sphinx (Stampolidis 2012; Stampolidis and Koutsogiannes 2013). The possibility of a narrative group or groups cannot be excluded. On the scarcity of narrative art of any kind in Archaic Crete see Pilz 2014, with earlier discussion.

109. Eckstein 1969: 29 ("Gleich einem großen Brennpunkt").

110. Bumke 2004: 170.

111. These signs are not writing per se, as each hero can recognize only his own; cf. Kirk 1990: 258.

112. Specifically, Pausanias says that all the heroes bore shields, and digresses on the significance of the rooster on the shield of Idomeneus, which also bore Onatas's signature. Cf. Bumke 2004: 168: "Das Beispiel des Idomeneus legt es nahe, für die übrigen Figuren eine entsprechende Kennzeichnung anzunehmen."

113. Classic discussions are Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988: 273–300; Zeitlin 2009.

114. Paus. 5.25.9 (for Agamemnon). On the opacity of the iconography and the importance of Nestor see Bumke 2004: 169.

115. We do not mean to imply that there were literally ballots inside whatever helmet the statue of Nestor held; the narrative implies them, and that is enough. For a possible relation between this scene of sortition and the sortition of athletes and chariot teams at the Olympic games see Ajootian 2007.

116. Cf. Chantraine 1968–80, s.v. γηθέω: "Le sens est celui de *la joie rayonnante*" (italics added).

117. *Milet*. I.3, 133; *SEG* 57-1128; Gorman 2001: 95–97, 176–86; Herda 2006 (with Chaniotis 2010). For a convenient review of Milesian urbanism see Longo 1999. For a summary of Herda's findings see Herda 2011. For recent revisionist discussion see Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 110–12.

118. Herda 2006: 15–20, 425–27.

119. On the path of the Molpoi see Schneider 1987; Mohr 2013: 87–89; Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018 (the last arguing against a long-established view in favor of more circuitous coastal routes involving lower cost in terms of effort and energy). We continue to follow the orthodox view: the documented presence of substantial Archaic shrines along the traditional route, including that of the Nymphs, plus the statement in the Molpoi inscription that the singers proceed by way of the "Heights" (*akron*)—a route implicitly high in labor cost—seems most consistent with the available evidence. Slawisch and Wilkinson themselves allow that "the alignment of archaic complexes of an apparently religious nature along the pass over and valley down from the Akron certainly points to the use of this corridor in the Archaic period" (132). Yet their discussion is invaluable and will remain a basic point of reference.

120. De Polignac 1995: 39–41; cf. F. Graf 1996; Mohr 2013.

121. "Two *gulloi* are brought, [one of which] is placed next to [the sanctuary of] Hekate before the Gates [of Miletos]; wreathed and poured with unmixed [wine].

The other is placed at the doors of Didyma” (καὶ Γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ’ Ἑκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν πυλέων ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ’ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ θύρας τίθεται, lines 25–27, trans. Herda). On *gulloi* see Herda 2006: 251–59, with references to previous discussions; cf. Faraone 1992: 6. For their probable epichoric origin in Asia Minor see Herda 2009: 89 with n. 351. For a revisionist view see Carbon 2013: 31–33; many of Carbon’s lexicographic suggestions are anticipated and dismissed in Chantraine 1968–80, s.v. γυλλός.

122. Hesychius, s.v. γυλλός (γ 992 Latte). On cubical grave markers see Tsakos 1996: 130–31 (Samos); Zapheiropoulou 2013 (Thera). Both Thucydides and Pausanias use the word *tetragōnos* to describe the Attic hermai (Thuc. 6.27.1; Paus. 2.10.7); Pausanias also uses it for the lower part of an ancient wooden Aphrodite on Delos that he associates with Daidalos (9.40.3). Themistios: *Orations* 316a9: πρὸ μὲν Δαιδάλου τετράγωνος ἦν οὐ μόνον ἡ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐργασία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνδριάντων. See also Simonides fr. 542 *PMG*, line 3. For discussion see Pollitt 1974: 263–69; Svenbro 1976: 153–54; Rouveret 1989: 146n44; Steiner 2001: 275–76.

123. Herda 2006: 250–51.

124. Duplouy 2006: 207; Herda 2006: 293–302. For the kore see Karakasi 2003: 43–44.

125. London, British Museum 1859, 1226.5. See Herda 2006: 327–50.

126. For a review of theories about the original placement of the statues, candidly acknowledging our ignorance, see Herda 2006: 330–32.

127. Herda 2006: 349–50. Herda has suggested that all may have come from a gentilian shrine; the idea, while attractive, remains speculative.

128. For a reading of Pindar’s Second Paian along these lines see Dougherty 1994.

Chapter 3. The Strength of Equipment and the Radiance of Song: Collaborative Effects

1. Thus already Bury 1890: 210–11.

2. For “the quick and the dead” see Steiner 2001: 135–84, following Vernant 1983, 1991.

3. For a parallel for children drawing power from proximity to a father’s grave see Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 315–509; for other passages that attest to this same effect see Kurke 2016: 12–13.

4. Cf. Fearn 2017: 270.

5. This same focus on materiality and surface treatment, but not on visual mimesis, characterizes two other passages where Pindar speaks of erecting a metaphorical stone monument to commemorate a dead relative of the victor: N.4.79-81 and N.8.44-48.

6. σχεδόν in the epinikia always refers to significant proximity to or of divinity or other numinous power; cf. O.1.74, O.10.52, P.5.40 (discussed below).

7. ἀκμᾷ is Pauw’s universally accepted emendation for αἰχμᾷ, since it heals the meter (we need short-long). For the contrasting capacities of stone and bronze see A. F. Stewart 2015: 40–41.

8. For the choreography of strophe, antistrophe, and epode see Mullen 1982: 127–42, 225–30 and see chapter 1, pp. 43–44.

9. For the strong material-culture theme in Nemean 10 see Bury 1890: 187–88, 195 and Fearn 2017: 264–71.

10. Thanks to Robin Osborne for pointing out to us how unusual the term is in a funerary context. Karouzos 1961: 28–30, followed by Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 143–44, asserts that the term is conventional for a funerary monument, but for both scholars this passage provides their only cited example. Commentators on Pindar tend to explain his formulation by analogy to Euripides, *Elektra* 143–44, μέλος Ἀΐδα, and *Suppliant Women* 773, Ἅιδου μολπάς, where these phrases designate "the tune" or "strains that belong to Hades" as a periphrasis for *thrēnos* (thus Bury 1890: 211, citing Dissen). Yet this analogy does not explain Pindar's unique usage.

11. Day 2010: 86, 88–91. Cf. Bloesch 1943; Roux 1962: 374n2 (quoting R. P. Festugière); Philipp 1968: 103–9; Gernet 1981b; Kurke 1991: 95–97, 103–6 (= 2013b: 83–85, 90–93); Scheer 2000: 8–18; Bettinetti 2001: 27–37; Steiner 2001: 15–16, 235.

12. Day 2010: 91–94. For the etymological connection see Chantraine 1968–80, s.vv. ἀγάλλομαι, ἀγλαός.

13. For ἄγαλμα + genitive of name of the god whose possession it is cf. *CEG* 302, line 1, Gorgias 82 fr. B6 DK (we owe the latter reference to Day 2010: 88).

14. For a more expansive description of the effects of radiance from polished stone see N.4.81-85. Note also Day's observation that *aglaos* tends to be used of places where cult occurs (2010: 93n33), listing *Il.* 2.307; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.230; Alkaios 261b, col. ii LP; Simonides 507 *PMG*; Pindar Pai. 7.3; 460.6 *SLG*; we might add Pindar O.1.91, N.4.20 (Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον), N.11.4, Pai. 6.62.

15. See Day 2010: ch. 6 for the associations of *agalma* and *charis* in archaic poetry and inscribed epigram.

16. On cult statues and their environs see Montel 2014.

17. On Karrhotos and his relationship to Arkesilas see Nicholson 2005: 42–52.

18. Niemeier 2007: 76. Nicholson 2005: 44, 228n8, following Hurst (in Lefkowitz 1985: 64), assumes that Pindar "exaggerates when he says that the chariot was hung near Apollo's statue," speculating that the chariot might in fact have been hung up in the pronaos of the temple.

19. Pindar notes the achievement three times, with ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις (32), ὁπόσα (35), and ὅλον (50). See Roux 1962: 372, 379–80.

20. See Roux 1962 for *melathron* as "roofbeam" and for the "image carved from a single trunk" as the ancient cult statue of Apollo.

21. See Slater 1969, s.v. σθένος. For σθένος designating human strength see P.5.113, P.9.86, P.10.24, N.1.26, N.5.39, N.7.73, N.10.48, N.11.38, I.7.22, fr. 29, line 4, fr. 38, fr. 128c, line 10, fr. 133, line 4; for strength of natural elements see O.9.51, P.4.144, N.6.11, Pai. 9.14, fr. 94b, line 17; for strength of animals see O.6.22, P.2.12. The only other place in Pindar where σθένος is attributed to an inanimate object is I.3.2, where it designates "strength of wealth" (σθένει πλούτου); cf. P.5.1.

22. Cf. Purves 2015 for a brilliant discussion of the scintillant effects of quasi-animation of objects in Homer from a New Materialist perspective. In Purves's

terms, we might say that it is the whole assemblage of elements juxtaposed in the temple of Apollo as described by Pindar that creates these effects. Note also that σθένος here finesses the conversion of "wealth broad-in-strength" (ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής) of line 1 via the chariot at line 34 to Arkesilas's own personal "strength of competition" (ἀγωνίας . . . σθένος), intimately linked with charioteering, at the end of the ode (P.5.113-15).

23. See above, n. 18.

24. Parallels from dedicatory or agonistic inscriptions are (1) mention of the making of the object by craftsmen and (2) the itinerary of the object, or where it has been (analogous to dedications of armor). For these kinds of narrative elements in Classical epigrams see Bowie 2010.

25. For such collaboration or complementarity of real and poetic monuments see Steiner 1993: 159–64, 2001: 251, 259–65; Porter 2010: 457, 479–81, 520–23, followed by Fearn 2013, 2017: 7–13 and passim; Kurke 2016: 7. We concur with these scholars, but we particularly want to read these collaborative effects in relation to spatialization and Pindar's distinctive phenomenology of radiance.

26. Cf. *CEG* 186, 230, 387 (supplement), 418, 772.4, 793, 795.20, 826, 844.3, 7, 849.3 for inscriptions that offer such explanations (or backstory) for the appropriateness of artifacts dedicated, including victor statues, introduced by γάρ.

27. Contra Spelman 2018: 48, insisting on the contrast between the present (metaphorical) flame of celebration and the permanent memorialization of words, we should notice how intertwined the two are in this passage, linked together by light imagery (φλέγοντι, ἀγλαῶν). For the logical end point for this kind of collaboration of monument plus inscription and words, with far-reaching extension of figurative visual effects, see Thuc. 2.43.2-3, with Porter 2010: 463, 474–76 and Fearn 2013: 237n24.

28. On light imagery in Pindar see Gundert 1935: 11–29; Lyde 1935; Duchemin 1955: 193–228, 1970; Tarrant 1960: 182–83; Bowra 1964: 34–35; Ciani 1974: 21–27; McNeal 1978; Steiner 1986: 46–48, 116–17; Krummen 1990: 55–56, 82, 87–89, 213–16; Nünlist 1998: 162–73; Adorjáni 2011: 172–96; Hutchinson 2012: 279–80; Spelman 2018: 45–54. For light imagery as a "convention" of epinikion see McNeal 1978: 136–37, 156; Krummen 1990: 55–56, 82, 87–89.

29. Besides N.10.67 (considered above), all other occurrences of *agalma* in Pindar refer explicitly or implicitly to the poem itself (N.3.13, N.8.16, by implication also N.5.1). Likewise in Bacchylides, all four occurrences of *agalma* with enough context preserved to assess refer metaphorically to praise in general or the praise poem in particular (1.184, 5.4, 10.11, fr. 20B.5). On Pindaric epinikion as an *agalma* see Kurke 1991: 104–5, 155–59, 188–92 (= 2013b: 90–93, 136–39, 163–67), 2016: 1–14; Steiner 1993, 2001: 137, 251–94; Ford 2002: 117–27; Day 2010: 106–11, 2013; Porter 2010: 453–63.

30. We can gauge the distinctiveness of Pindar's usage by the fact that LSJ has to invent a separate entry for these passages (s.v. λάμπω, "3. metaph., *shine forth*, *be famous* or *conspicuous*"), together with Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 773; Euripides, *Andromache* 776, *Ion* 476 (all lyric); Plato, *Phaedrus* 250d. Contrast Bacchylides, who

has only one metaphorical use of λάμπω (8.21) as against five that occur in contexts of literal light, fire, flashing (3.17, 54, 5.72, 17.103-5, 123). On λάμπω in Homer specifically designating light effects that arc across great distances see Prier 1989: 44, 47, 50–54.

31. *Il.* 21.13, 21.365 (φλέγω); 17.738, 18.211, 21.358, 23.197 (φλεγέθω)—all of literal fire, several times in similes.

32. For metaphoric use of these verbs in Pindar see O.9.22 (ἐπιφλέγω), P.5.45, P.11.45 (ἐπιφλέγω), N.6.38, N.10.2, I.7.23, fr. 26 SM, Pai. 2.67, Pai. 18.4. Even at O.10.74, where ἐμφλέγω describes the light of the full moon shining on the Olympic precinct, there is a close connection with song in line 76 (ἀείδετο δὲ πὰν τέμενος . . .). So there are only two occurrences in Pindar of forms of φλέγω (simplex or compound) with no connection to song or speech: O.2.72 and O.3.20 (ἀντιφλέγω). For the metaphorical use of φλέγω for song, cf. Bacch. fr. 4.80.

33. LSJ, s.v. φλέγω; Slater 1969, s.v. φλέγω.

34. On the association of Charites with epinikion (especially epinikian performance) see Mullen 1982: 21–22, 82–86; Kurke 1991: 103–6 (= 2013b: 90–93). For *charis* or the Charites associated with performance in early Greek poetry generally see Day 2010: 244–50, 263, 267.

35. Currie 2011: 271n9, 287n75, following Pouilloux 1970. Nicholson 2018: 43 follows Currie and suggests a *terminus ante quem* of 452 BCE for Olympian 7. This is the date for the first Olympic victory won by one of Diagoras's sons, Damagetos (see Moretti 1957, no. 287); Nicholson reasons that if Damagetos had already won this victory, it would certainly have been mentioned somewhere in our ode. For the Diagorid dedication at Olympia see Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, nos. 151–53.

36. Cf. Herington 1985: 201–3; LeVen 2014: 283–329.

37. Thus Wilamowitz 1922: 362 ("die Lindier"); Farnell 1932: 50 ("the men of Lindos"); D. C. Young 1968: 97n2; Defradas 1974: 49 ("plus tard"); Hornblower 2004: 133 ("continuing collective pride"); Kowalzig 2007b: 225 ("later times"); R. R. R. Smith 2007: 99 ("the ode was later made permanent"); Porter 2010: 459n19 ("at the Hellenistic temple").

38. Thus among literary scholars: Bowra 1964: 147, Càssola 1975: 99; Nagy 1990b: 162, 174–75; Carey 2007: 201n13; Fearn 2007: 13n45, 2013: 248n66; Kurke 2016: 15–33. Among historians: Jacoby in *FGrH* vol. IIIb: 429; Gabrielsen 2000: 182; Duplouy 2006: 72 with n. 105.

39. Carey 2007: 201n13.

40. Thanks to Ewen Bowie for this point. If we accept the arguments of Currie 2011: 271n9, 287n75 and Nicholson 2018: 43 (cited above, n. 35), the poem may have been composed as late as the mid- to late 450s. As a parallel for the inscription of an entire Pindaric composition in a temple, note the suggestion of Rutherford 2001: 177, 214 that Pindar's Eighth Paian, with its lengthy account of the sequence of Delphic temples, might have been inscribed at Delphi.

41. As LeVen 2014: 285 notes.

42. LSJ, s.v., ἀνατίθημι II; ἀνάκειμαι I.

43. Gortyn: *I.Cret.* IV.72.

44. On the various magical objects in the poem see Bresson 1979: 43–134; Steiner 2001: 139; O'Sullivan 2005; Power 2011. The prominence of quasi-animated objects extends to the poem's victory list at O.7.83-87, on which see Fearn 2013: 240–41 and Kurke 2016: 16–17.

45. On phialai see Krauskopf 2005, with earlier references; Gaifman 2018.

46. For conventional poem openings see Maslov 2015: 310–17; for Olympian 7 in particular, 315. Fearn (2013: 244 with n. 59) observes that such material images or analogues for the poem feature most frequently at the beginning of Pindar's odes (citing O.6.1-4, O.7.1, P.1.1, P.6.5-18, N.5.1-2). Note that if the poem was indeed inscribed in or on the temple in letters of gold, the word φιάλαν itself was literally made of gold—hence did not require the specification we find in O.6.1 and P.1.1.

47. Bowie 2010: 349, on *CEG* 351 and Paus. 5.10.4.

48. Thus Bresson 1979: 62–68 and Syfoeras 1993: 14–17 for Olympian 7 in particular; Detienne and Vernant 1978: 183 and Steiner 2001: 187 for the artisanal qualities of the myth of Athena's birth in general.

49. Pindar's image of Zeus's snow or rain of gold is usually explained by commentators as a literalization of *Il.* 2.670 (of the Rhodians), καί σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων; thus Gildersleeve 1890: 188; Verdenius 1987: 62. But this explanation undervalues the materiality and significance of gold throughout the poem, for which see Gildersleeve 1890: 188 and Bresson 1979: 73–133. Verdenius 1987: 62 also cites the parallel of *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.135-36 (the island of Delos exploding with gold to celebrate the birth of Apollo).

50. For text and discussion of the Delphic paians see Powell 1925: 141–59; Käppel 1992, Pai. 45–46; Furley and Bremer 2001: 1:129–38. As a parallel for the dedication of phialai, the Acropolis inventories in Athens indicate that they were the predominant treasures of the pronaos of the Parthenon. See *IG* I^3 292, lines 6–7, with D. M. Lewis 1986: 72–74: "In 433 the Pronaos of the Parthenon held 'the gold phiale from which they make the libations,'" as well as an additional 104 sliver phialai (quotation from p. 74); cf. Scott 2011: 242.

51. For the temple orientation see Lippolis 1988–89: 103–11 and fig. 3.

52. Admittedly, the poem might have been inscribed on a stele set up against an interior wall of the cella or pronaos in a location where it would never catch the sun. For our purposes, the poem inscribed in letters of gold (and the collapse of poem and artifact that entailed) is as much a significant trope as it is a reality. But at the same time, it seems worthwhile to try to imagine the kinds of effects that might have been produced.

53. On Olympian 7 as promoting the ideology of Rhodian synoikism under the leadership of the Diagorids see Bresson 1979: 155–57; F. Cairns 2005; Kowalzig 2007b: 224–66; Kurke 2016: 25–33.

54. Isthmian 4 was composed at an unknown date for the Theban pankration victor Melissos. We follow several recent discussions that read Isthmian 4 on its own rather than together with Isthmian 3: Köhnken 1971: 87–94; McNeal 1978; Privitera 1982: 43–45; Krummen 1990: 33; Willcock 1995: 70–71; Spelman 2018: 48

with n. 13. Segal 1998: 230 is agnostic, offering a reading that works for either Isthmians 3 and 4 conjoined or Isthmian 4 alone. With Krummen 1990: 34 and n. 6, we accept that Isthmian 4 celebrates an Isthmian pankration victory by Melissos, contra Privitera 1978/79, 1982: 53.

55. Bury 1890: 51–53; Woodbury 1947; McNeal 1978; Krummen 1990; Segal 1998: 229–49; Spelman 2018: 45–54.

56. For "chiaroscuro" applied to the imagery of this ode see Segal 1998: 236.

57. The family's casualties are usually assumed to have been in the battle of Plataia, but we follow Young 1971 (on I.7) and Krummen 1990: 73 in the view that the description of death in battle is completely stylized and generic (like those of funerary epigram or *epitaphios logos*), so we are not supposed to be worrying about which battle. Thus we do not discuss here the issues of the family's potential medizing.

58. For discussions of light imagery in Isthmian 4 see McNeal 1978; Segal 1998: 229–49; Spelman 2018: 48–54.

59. On synaesthesia, Porter 2013 is particularly helpful.

60. Ignoring χρῶτα: Bury 1890 and Farnell 1932. Translating it as "face" or "countenance": Willcock 1995: 77 and Segal 1998: 233. A notable exception is Race (1997: 2:165), who translates "but now it is awake and its body shines like the Morning Star"; cf. Spelman 2018: 49.

61. Kurke 1991: 72–74 (= 2013b: 63–65).

62. For the classic discussion of light and fire imagery throughout the *Iliad* (and especially in Achilleus's *aristeia*) see Whitman 1958: 128–46; on these coordinated similes in book 22, pp. 142–44.

63. Cf. Whitman 1958: 144: "Deserted by the gods, Hector faces Achilles alone. His noblest and fairest moment comes at the end of his long day of battle, with its glory and defeat; and the spear which transfixes him a few lines later is like the evening star. The fire of Achilles is distilled to a purposive and fatal point."

64. For "Hesperus is Phosphorus" see Ibykos fr. 331 *PMG*; Pythagoras fr. D14 Most; Parmenides frr. D22-23 Most; Frege 1997. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.1129b28-29 suggests that "not even the Evening or the Morning Star [is] so wondrous (θαυμαστός)" was proverbial.

65. For this division of the poem into family and victor halves see Krummen 1990: 79–92.

66. Cf. Spelman 2018: 53 and Hutchinson 2012: 279–80.

67. There is one more possible occurrence of πυρσός in Pindar fr. dub. 356 SM (but Snell and Maehler do not consider πυρσῷ part of the quotation). For a similar metaphorical image in an epinikian context see Bacch. 13.79-83, with discussion in Hutchinson 2012: 280.

68. See chapter 2, pp. 63–66.

69. The metaphorical use of ἔρνος to mean "offspring" or "nursling" is rare in Pindar; otherwise he uses it to refer only to divine beings (Apollo and Artemis, N.6.37; Delos, fr. 33c, line 2). The word occurs three times in Homer to designate a "son" or "offspring," but always in the form of a simile in which the tree-y quality of ἔρνος is still felt (*Il.* 18.56, 437, *Od.* 14.175).

70. For this as the original performance context see Krummen 1990: 34, 43, 93–94, with further discussion in the main text. Against Krummen's interpretation see Eckerman 2015; Spelman 2018: 60–62.

71. Translation of lines 61–63 follows the interpretation of Krummen 1990: 41–48; for ἀνατελλομένα as "rises like a planet" see Bury 1890: 76 and Spelman 2018: 54.

72. Krummen 1990: 52–60. For the association of the Kleonymidai "pleasing to bronze Ares" with the "bronze-clad dead" see already Bury 1890: 54, 66.

73. Krummen 1990: 50–56. Bury 1890: 54–55, 76 also notes the association of the two passages through "crowns."

74. Another way of formulating these effects would be to adapt the analysis of Peponi 2004 of the interaction of deixis and visual imagery in Alkman's First Partheneion as a way of initiating the listener/viewer into the active seeing or contemplation of *theōria* in a ritual context. But here, we might say, ritual stands in for and does the work of deixis.

75. Cf. Krummen 1990: 56–58 on the blending or merging of Herakles's feasting on Olympos (for which see N.1.69-72) with the sacrificial *dais* in Thebes.

76. In reperformance or reading, the ratio of metaphor to real or diegetic to extradiegetic shifts, but the transformation of vision and comportment would still obtain. The poem then interpellates us (whoever we are) as Thebans, participating in a specific local rite that simultaneously encompasses the whole *oikoumenē*. Cf. Spelman 2018: 60–62 for a similar reading.

77. On the Thearion see Walter-Karydi 1994; Hoffelner 1999: 160–71; Currie 2005, 333–39, 2011: 297–98; Rutherford 2011; Polinskaya 2013: 232–46. For *Thearoi* on Aegina see Schol. N.3.122a, b (3:59 Drachmann); Figueira 1981: 314–21; Rutherford 2011; Polinskaya 2013: 246–59.

78. Polinskaya 2013: 243–46 objects that the scholia specify that the Thearion is within the *hieron* of Apollo Pythios, while the building usually identified with the Thearion is some distance to the north of the temple and also at a lower ground level: this discrepancy, she feels, militates against the traditional identification. Yet the fact is that we do not know the limits of the *hieron* in question: we cannot say categorically what was inside and what was out. It is perfectly possible that the whole of Kolonna hill could have been sacred to Apollo even as it contained subshrines. One might compare the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Cyrene, which contained numerous subsidiary shrines to other deities, including Apollo Karneios (see chapter 5 below).

79. On the Artemision see Paus. 2.30; Polinskaya 2013: 216–17, 261–63 (skeptical). For the Aiakeion and tomb of Phokos see Schol. N.5.94e (3:100 Drachmann); Paus. 2.29.6-9. There are two different theories on the location of the Aiakeion. For its location on Kolonna hill see Felten 2007a: 23–30; Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009: 65–66. For its location due east of the Secret Harbor on the Sacred Way see H. Walter in Wurster 1974: 6; H. Walter 1993: 54–56; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131–32, 2006: 3–6. For full discussion of the different possibilities see Polinskaya 2013: 129–34 (skeptical, perhaps unduly); Kurke 2017: 243–44.

80. On the Thearion as performance venue see Gelzer 1985: 96n4; Krummen 1990: 276; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131–32; Instone 1996: 166; Burnett 2005: 151; Currie 2005: 338n220; Carey 2007: 202–3; Fearn 2007: 142; Rutherford 2011.

81. For dedicatory inscriptions that use the simplex verb (θῆκε or ἔθηκε) for ἀνέθηκε, see *CEG* 218, 305, 310, 344 (definite); 229, 234, 267, 293, 302, 343, 355, 382 (restored).

82. Pindar uses *stalai* for the Pillars of Herakles at O.3.44 and I.4.12, while in other passages he uses periphrases for the location (N.4, Gades; N.3.25, "the end that sent [Herakles] back home again"; fr. 256 SM, Πύλας Γαδειρίδας). Cf. Instone 1996: 158: "But pillars would naturally be expected to support something."

83. Since sphinxes almost invariably stood atop columns or pillars, we can get a rough idea of the number of these dedications by combining the number of sculpted sphinxes from Kolonna with the number of votive columns (there seems to be no overlap between the two categories: no extant column can be matched with an extant sphinx). In each case we are dealing with fragments, but the total number comes to eleven monuments in all, making Aegina one of the top sites anywhere in the Greek world for this type. From Kolonna these include the following: sphinx, Aegina Museum 753 (Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 2); sphinx, Aegina Museum Z189 (Hoffelner 1996: 15); sphinx, Athens, National Museum 77 and AP 865 (Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 27); sphinx, Aegina Museum 1429 (Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 51); sphinx, Aegina Museum 1383 (Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 52; Grüben 1965); column, Aegina Museum A919 (Hoffelner 1996: 10–15); pillar, Aegina Museum A432 (Hoffelner 1996: 19–21). From Aphaia: sphinxes, Walter-Karydi 1987, nos. 48–50 (Munich, Glyptothek inv. 91, inv. 159, and unnumbered); column, Aegina, Aphaia Museum, unnumbered (McGowan 1993: 201–6).

84. Hellmann 1992: 231–33; C. Marconi 2004.

85. For the Amazonomachy see Walter-Karydi 1987: 132, 146; Felten 2007b: 106. For the Ilioupersis see Felten 2007b: 110.

86. Cf. Athanassaki 2011a; Indergaard 2011; Polinskaya 2013: 126–63.

87. Mullen 1982: 127–42. For a summary of Mullen's reconstruction of triadic choreography see chapter 1, pp. 43–44.

88. Consternation: see Slater 1969, s.v. χαλκότοξος, "*?with brazen arrows*." Race 1997: 2:27 attempts to palliate the weirdness by translating as "with bronze bows."

89. One is reminded of a late Archaic neck-amphora by Euphronios (Paris, Louvre G 107; Beazley Archive no. 200088) that shows a confused Amazon shooting her arrow at a sculpted Herakles: the blurring of reality and representation that was merely a joke in the sympotic context could be utterly serious in an epinikian one.

90. For the "pedimental" balancing of the two interior epodes, cf. P.5 and O.6, discussed in chapter 1, pp. 43–44.

91. For the eagle as the poet see Farnell 1932: 262; Instone 1996: 169. For the eagle as the victor see Stoneman 1976: 193–94. For the eagle as both at once see Bury 1890: 60; Pfeijffer 1994: 313–15, 1999: 221–23; Burnett 2005: 151–52.

92. Cf. Pai. 8.70; O.13.21-22. For αἰετός as an architectural term for "gable," see Aristophanes, *Birds* 1110; *IG* I^3 474, line 187 (Erechtheion accounts); cf. Hippokrates,

On Joints 43 (using the etymologically related word ἀέτωμα). For this usage see Rutherford 2001: 219 with n. 21.

93. See D'Alessio 2004b for the temporality of these kinds of metanarratives of composition within poems. For this moment in Nemean 3 see also Agócs 2012: 202–3 and Maslov 2015: 304.

94. "From here" (from Aegina): Schadewaldt 1928: 313n2; Race 1997: 2:29. "From there" (from Troy): Bury 1890: 41; Farnell 1932: 260; Slater 1969, s.v. αὐτόθεν ("i.e. from their exploits at Troy"). Instone 1996: 165 acknowledges the ambiguity and tries to get around it by treating αὐτόθεν as equivalent to ἐξ αὐτῶν ("from their own resources, from themselves"). But the spatializing suffix -θεν is important; cf. οἴκοθεν, N.3.31.

95. See Slater 1969, s.v. μέριμνα, b. Scholars have spent a lot of time worrying about the victor's relation to the Thearion—is he much older now and so a member of the Thearion himself (poem is "late")?—thus Figueira 1981: 318. Or did he compete at an advanced age?—thus Bury 1890: 38; Wilamowitz 1922: 277; Pfeijffer 1999: 226–27. Or is his father or grandfather a member of the College of *Thearoi*?—thus Burnett 2005: 144. We are agnostic on this point, though we find appealing the suggestion of Rutherford 2011: 126–27 that the Thearion / College of *Thearoi* might have funded the training and competition of a youthful athlete/choreut.

96. The poet contrasts the bright τέλος of Herakles and the victor with the generic ψεφεννὸς ἀνήρ who never accomplishes anything (note ἀτελεῖ νόῳ, 42). As the scholia explain, he is "dim" or "shadowy" because "he doesn't give out light" (οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκλάμπων, Schol. N.3.71b [3:53 Drachmann]).

97. Here we accept, with most modern editors, Bergk's emendation of the manuscripts' third-person verb ἄπεστι to second-person ἄπεσσι. In fact, the point about spatial imagery stands even if we choose to retain the manuscripts' ἄπεστι; in that case, it is the following words, χαῖρε, φίλος, that make the transition from third to second person for the victor and mark a new phase of the song/performance.

98. Cf. *Il.* 9.224-25; Bury 1890: 60; Instone 1996: 168; Agócs 2012: 203.

99. The πόμ' ἀοίδιμον here also picks up and slakes the opening imagery of thirst ("different deeds thirst for different things," διψῇ, 6). This imagery is very appropriate since, according to the scholia (N.3.122b [3:59 Drachmann]), symposia were held in the Thearion. For full discussion of the ancient evidence for civic banqueting in the Thearion see Rutherford 2011, with earlier bibliography.

100. We borrow this image from Bury 1890: 58: "Pindar seems to conceive that when Achilles killed the son of the Morning he spoiled him of his light."

Chapter 4. Fr. 75 SM and the Politics of Athenian Space

1. See chapter 1, pp. 36–37.

2. On the archaeology of neighborhoods see M. E. Smith 2010; Stissi 2012; Harmanşah 2013.

3. On the importance of landmarks in ancient mapping see Brodersen 1995: 49–53.

4. Conversely, a statue of Herodoros, voted in 295/94, could be set up anywhere *except* alongside the Tyrannicides: *IG* II^3 1 853, lines 40–42.

5. For a similar locution cf. P.5.40-42, discussed in chapter 3, pp. 96–98.

6. Faraone 1992.

7. For recent discussions of the Plynteria see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011; Hollinshead 2015: 184–86 and passim, with further references. There is some controversy as to whether the statue was indeed processed to Phaleron, and which statue it was, but the general view is that the statue in question was the Polias and that the procession did proceed to Phaleron.

8. Papazarkadas 2011: 20–21.

9. On the link between the Tyrannicides and the Leokoreion see Grethlein 2010: 214–20.

10. *IG* I^3 257, lines 6–10.

11. *IG* I^3 426, lines 66–69, 70–71, 90–93.

12. *IG* I^3 426, lines 5–8; Stroud 1998: 89–90, 94; Lalonde 2006: 104.

13. Trans. E. Kyriakidis, modified. On this inscription (Meiggs and Lewis 1989, no. 42) see Kyriakidis 2012, with earlier bibliography.

14. At large scale, see the classic account in de Polignac 1995.

15. Cf. Lynch 1960. More recently, see Brodersen 1995: 54–65; Thiering 2014, with Curry 2005.

16. Kyriakidis 2012.

17. [Plato], *Axiochos* 364d, ca. 300 BCE.

18. Published in Duchêne 1992 (*SEG* 42-785). On ritual space on Thasos, with reference to this inscription, see S. G. Cole 2004: 50–57.

19. *SEG* 42-785, lines 2–45, trans. D. M. Lewis (D. M. Lewis 1993: 402).

20. Graham 1998 suggests that "public," *demosion*, should be understood in the sense of an English public house, or "pub," and that the "woman at the window" motif suggests prostitution in a Near Eastern context. This seems a stretch. If we need a deeper rationale for the law, then public order seems more likely. Both men and women were in a position to do a great deal of mischief from a rooftop. Thucydides, for instance, describes how the inhabitants of Corcyra and Plataia turned roof tiles into weapons (Thuc. 2.4.2, 3.74.1-2; cf. 4.48.2-3); on these passages see Lee 2010.

21. On eusynoptic views see Purves 2010: 24–64.

22. For some scholars, δεύτερον (8) provides a *terminus post quem* of 497/96; but see the discussion in main text, p. 148. Several archaeological discussions citing this fragment rely on the date suggested by Bowra 1964: 408 ("474?"), but it should be noted that Bowra's dating only applies to frr. 76-77 SM (the famous dithyramb for Athens that begins, "O shining and violet-crowned and celebrated in song, bulwark of Hellas, glorious Athens"). Frr. 76 and 77 SM may well belong to the same dithyramb, but are highly unlikely to derive from the same poem as fr. 75 SM for metrical reasons; see Wilamowitz 1984: 311–12 with n. 6. Bowra's listing of fr. 75 SM under the year 474 is therefore misleading.

23. Friis Johansen 1959 argued for dithyrambic performances at the Anthesteria based on a single vase representing what he identified as six named individuals in the garb of a dithyrambic chorus arrayed around a “maypole” (Copenhagen, National Museum 13817; Beazley Archive no. 215175). Friis Johansen connected this vase with Pindar fr. 75 SM as evidence for dithyrambic performances, otherwise entirely unattested, at the Anthesteria in late February. Webster in the second edition of Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 37–38) was inclined to accept Friis Johansen’s argument, and Friis Johansen’s theory has been followed by Privitera (1972: 137–38) and expanded by Bravo (1997: 43–99). Nonetheless, as Hamilton (1990: 222) notes, “If there had been competitions at the Anthesteria famous enough to attract Pindar, they should have left some record.” For critiques of Friis Johansen’s interpretation see Simon 1983: 98–99 (citing older scholarship); Hamilton 1990: 219–22; P. Wilson 2000: 320–21n104.

24. Thus Wilamowitz 1922: 274; Puech 1923: 153n1; Farnell 1932: 415; Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 21; Wycherley 1978: 33, 205; Kirkwood 1982: 329; Lavecchia 2000: 257–60. As Lavecchia (2000: 258) notes, the adjective θυόεντα is particularly apt for an altar; cf. Pindar, Pai. 3.8-9, and Euripides, *Trojan Women* 1061. Minority views: Hamilton (1990: 221), van der Weiden (1991: 193), and Furley and Bremer (2001: 2:210) argue that *omphalos* refers to the Acropolis, while Schnurr (1995a: 134–35) argues for the altar of Zeus Agoraios in the old agora of Athens (on this, see further below).

25. As the center point or navel, then, just like the *omphalos* stone set up by Zeus at Delphi. Strabo 9.3.6 tells us that Pindar himself narrated the myth of Zeus dispatching two eagles from the ends of the earth and setting the *omphalos* stone at Delphi, where they met each other (fr. 54 SM; cf. Paus. 10.16.3).

26. Xenophon *Cavalry Commander* 3.2 (partially quoted in main text above): τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἴομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες (“In my opinion, processions are most pleasing to both gods and spectators if, however many [gods] have shrines and cult statues in the agora, [the cavalry] ride around these in a circle, beginning from the Herms, and thereby honor the gods. Just so the choruses at the Dionysia gratify in addition both the other gods and [especially] the Twelve by singing and dancing”). For earlier theatrical and dithyrambic performances in the agora see Hammond 1972: 389–405; Kolb 1981: 20–61. But see also Scullion 1994: 52–65 for a strong argument that the late lexicographical tradition is not a reliable guide to early performances in the agora and that we should rather assume that “from the beginning all dramatic performances in Athens took place on the south-east slope of the Akropolis” (quotation from p. 65).

27. For the association of Xenophon’s reference with the procession see Farnell 1932: 415; Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 62 (more tentatively, acknowledging that this could also be a reference to the *eisagōgē*); P. Wilson 2000: 97–98. For the route and

elements of the *pompē*, see Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 61–63; Csapo and Slater 1995: 104–6, 112–15; P. Wilson 2000: 97–98.

28. That this opening invocation to the Olympian gods is in fact a problem is made clear by van der Weiden's contorted efforts to explain it away: "The fact, however, that the invoked gods are not the recipients of the poem (which is, of course, Dionysus), must make us aware that this is not a real hymnal opening. It has no cult intention, but is 'merely' meant to make a πρόσωπον τηλαυγές (O.6, 3-4), a grand opening. . . . Since dithyrambs are hymns to Dionysus we expect hymnal elements directed at him, and they can be found in the second part of the fragment" (van der Weiden 1991: 186).

29. Thus Farnell 1932: 415.

30. It is striking that Dionysios of Halikarnassos cites nineteen lines of the poem but only offers word-by-word and sound-effect analysis for the first nine. How are we to account for this discrepancy? Dionysios is not simply quoting to the first major syntactic break/period (as we might expect), for that falls at line 12. Van der Weiden (1991: 189) suggests that Dionysios's reference to the song's ἀρχή indicates that he is quoting a complete metrical unit (i.e., the first strophe of the song). This may well be, but we would add that the whole poem would perhaps be no longer than a single triad, or if astrophic, no more than two or three times the length of Dionysios's quotation. (For arguments against assuming a triadic structure here see Hamilton 1990: 211–12.) In addition, we would suggest that Dionysios may be motivated in the length of his quotation by the rhetorical structure of these nineteen lines, which exhibit ring composition and work up to a climax in lines 16–19 (on which see below in the main text). As for the familiarity of the poem, notice how well known most of Dionysios's examples in this treatise are—e.g., especially Thucydides, from whom Dionysios quotes a sentence from the funeral oration (Thuc. 2.35.1 at *On Literary Composition* 18) and the opening paragraph of the *History* (*On Literary Composition* 22).

31. Indeed, this is Pindar's only metaphorical use of the term *omphalos*; all seven other occurrences of the word in the Pindaric corpus designate the navel-stone at Pytho (P.4.74, P.6.3, P.8.59, P.11.10, N.7.33, Pai. 6.17, fr. 215b SM, line 12). For a parallel for *omphalos* used metaphorically to designate an altar or shrine "in the agora" of Megara, see Simonides Epigram XVI Page, lines 9–10 (= *IG* VII 53, an epigram for Megarian citizens fallen in the Persian Wars).

32. Thuc. 6.54.6-7, trans. Crawley, modified.

33. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6787 (*IG* I^3 948; *CEG* 305). For the 2009 discovery of a new joining fragment, see http://greekepigraphicsociety.org.gr/may-2011/#more-463 (accessed July 2017).

34. For testimonia see Wycherley 1957, nos. 203, 363–78, 698. Although we have no explicit testimony from the Archaic period for its functioning as a zero milestone, the altar of the Twelve Gods seems highly likely to have served as the center point of the system of Hipparchan herms (thus Parker 1996: 73n23, 81; see also discussion below in text). If this was the case, then this function should date from the altar's earliest foundation. Welcome evidence for its role as a site of refuge as

early as ca. 519 BCE comes from Hdt. 6.108.4, which describes the Plataians taking refuge there when they offered themselves to the Athenians.

35. *IG* II² 2640 = *CEG* 442; Wycherley 1957, no. 374. Cf. Hdt. 2.7.1, calculating the distance from the altar to Olympia.

36. This analogy is noted in H. A. Shapiro 1989: 133. For the topopoetic function of herms, cf. chapter 2, pp. 67–69.

37. Neer 2010: 28–30. See also Steiner 1994: ch. 4; Stieber 2005–6: 27–32; Quinn 2007; Goette 2014: 22–24.

38. Solon fr. 32.3-7 W. On Attic boundary stones see Ober 2005: 182–211, with earlier bibliography. On the place of the herms in the Attic road network see R. A. Tomlinson 2002.

39. Cf. *Od.* 16.471, with Paus. 3.10.6, 8.34.6, 8.35.2-3. See also Osborne 1985 and Gaifman 2012.

40. [Plato], *Hipparchos* 228d–229b.

41. *IG* I³ 1023 = *CEG* 304. Cf. R. A. Tomlinson 2002.

42. Aloni 2000: 83.

43. On the altar of the Twelve Gods see Crosby 1949; Thompson 1952; H. A. Shapiro 1989: 133–41; Gadbery 1992. For testimonia see Wycherley 1957, nos. 361–78.

44. See http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_wsite4_1_17/02/2011_379147. For photos see http://eineken.pblogs.gr/tags/bomos-12-theon-gr.html. Retrieved 25 November 2018.

45. *IG* I³ 951.

46. See, *inter alia*, Osborne 2007: 196.

47. Crosby 1949: 101.

48. Gadbery 1992: 452, 461.

49. Gadbery 1992: 467.

50. Noted in Arnush 1995: 146.

51. Saraga 2013: 144.

52. Gadbery 1992: 472n86.

53. On the date of the later parapet see Gadbery 1992: 476–85; Saraga 2013: 144.

54. From beneath the pavement comes part of the corner volute of the altar, exactly the element that one might expect to be trimmed off during the enlargement that Thucydides describes (the recent salvage excavations found more fragments; see Saraga 2013: 142). However, this material may be associated with the fourth-century remodeling.

55. Secondarily, these facts also support Thucydides's assertion at 6.54.5 that while in power the Peisistratids "adorned the city beautifully" (καλῶς διεκόσμησαν).

56. Cf. Hartmann 2013: 35–36, suggesting that Thucydides cites these two inscriptions in preference to the (later) archon list to prove his point because inscriptions contemporary with the events discussed were felt to have more probative authority. The more salient question for our purposes is why Thucydides should bother to mention the inscription on the altar of the Twelve Gods at all, since by his time it had already been obliterated. We contend that his mention of the two altars and inscriptions together shows just how closely linked the two were in

Athenian consciousness—linked to each other and linked to Peisistratos the Younger as their dedicator. This same link, we suggest, motivates Pindar's unusual image in *omphalos*.

57. Indeed, one might wonder why Thucydides finds it necessary to use the phrase "the [altar] *in the agora*"; why isn't it enough simply to say "the altar of the Twelve Gods" (as Herodotus does at 2.7.1 and 6.108.4)? Perhaps Thucydides feels the need to add the specification "in the agora" because the altar of the Twelve is only relatively recently in this location (in contrast to the altar of Apollo Pythios, which remains in the old quarter of Athens; note the *men-de* construction). In any case, for evidence that Thucydides is writing from the point of view of future audiences, who will only know the altar of the Twelve Gods in its current location in the new agora, note the tense of the participle in the phrase Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος in the same sentence, with the note of Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover ad loc.: "the aorist participle . . . is past only from the standpoint of writer and reader" (Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover 1970: 333).

58. On the similarity of the inscription on the Leagros base to the Tyrannicides inscription (*IG* I^3 592) see Meritt 1936: 357. Note that as a separate argument from her study of the stratigraphy of the altar of the Twelve, Gadbery would like to downdate the (lost) statue of Leagros to after 480, contending that if the base was moved only in the last third of the fifth century (as her stratigraphic argument proves), then the statue must still have been on the base at that time (Gadbery 1992: 472–74, 487). Otherwise, she asks, why would the Athenians have bothered to move the base? While we follow Gadbery's arguments about the stratigraphy and the redating of the altar and the base in their current location, we cannot accept her redating of the Leagros statue, because of the evidence of significant wear on the top of the base. Note that on this issue Gadbery herself acknowledges that Homer Thompson disagreed with her arguments, "particularly those regarding the condition of the Leagros base and the lower sill" (Gadbery 1992: 477n107). See also next note.

59. For the marked wear on the base that has obliterated the upper portion of the dedicatory inscription, see Meritt 1936: 359 with his plate 10. Gadbery 1992: 473–74 is inclined to downplay the amount of wear, since if the statue were still on the base after the Persian Wars and in the last third of the fifth century, when the base was moved to its current location, people could not have been walking on it.

60. Some scholars assume that the altar of the Twelve Gods was destroyed by the Persians and hence must have been completely out of use between 480 BCE and the last third of the fifth century (see, e.g., Puech 1923: 151; Lavecchia 2000: 255). While this supposition, if true, might be helpful for dating fr. 75 SM, it is pure speculation. The best we can say is that the altar only reached its present location in the Classical agora *after* Pindar's death. This fact suffices for our argument.

61. Gadbery 1992: 465.

62. G. Ferrari 2002. Cf. the more recent suggestion by Margaret Miles (2011) that the *Lapis Primus*, recording the tribute to the Delian League for the years

454/53-440/39 BCE, was originally intended for the Older Parthenon, destroyed in 480 by the Persians. Emphatically aniconic, the half-buried base was perhaps analogous to the herms and Hekates that guarded so many Greek homes and sanctuaries, the relic of a statue doing duty for a lost original. On guardian and entryway figures see Faraone 1992: ch. 1.

63. Wilamowitz 1880: 201n4; Thompson 1952. See also *IG* II^2 4786 and H. A. Shapiro 1989: 141.

64. *IG* I^3 1144.

65. Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 160–68.

66. Diogenes Laertius 7.1.14; Wycherley 1957, no. 64.

67. For comparative study see Ammerman 2011. The phenomenon is not unknown; the Hungarian zero-kilometer mark moved from the Buda Palace to its current location by the banks of the Danube after 1848. In like manner, distances in and around London have at various times been measured from the "Standard" in Cornhill, St. Mary-le-Bow in the City, and Charing Cross.

68. On Themistokles and Piraeus see Thuc. 1.93.3 and Paus. 1.1.2; cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 815; for modern discussions, see Garland 1987 and von Eikstedt 1991. On the old agora the essential document is the Aglaurion inscription: Dontas 1983; *SEG* 33-155. For discussion and debate see, *inter alia*, Robertson 1986: 157–59; T. L. Shear 1994; Lippolis 1995; S. G. Miller 1995a, 1995b; Schnurr 1995a, 1995b; Papadopoulos 1996, 2003: 271–316; Luce 1998; Robertson 1998; Harris-Cline 1999; Schmalz 2006; Osborne 2007; Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012; Dickinson 2015; di Cesare 2016. Contra: Kenzler 1997.

69. Dontas 1983; *SEG* 33-155.

70. See Saporiti 2010: 159 ("quasi unanimente accettata").

71. For a recent survey of the area see Greco 2011: 511–54.

72. Although for a long time many scholars preferred simply to ignore the Aglaurion inscription; Angiolillo 1992 (e.g.) argues, with no reference at all to the Aglaurion, that Building F in the Classical agora was the Archaic Prytaneion.

73. In this they built upon an earlier suggestion by Eugene Vanderpool, who was an early advocate of the idea that the Archaic agora did not coincide with the Classical: Vanderpool 1974. More recently, see Dickinson 2015, arguing against an identification of the site of the Archaic agora with that of the Roman.

74. Herodotus's phrasing, incidentally, provides a useful example of the difference between modern and ancient spatial logics. The east end of the Acropolis seems to many modern visitors to be the rear, because we enter on the west side; for Herodotus, however, the east is the front, because the temples in the sanctuary all face that direction, overlooking the town.

75. Papadopoulos 1996: 112, 2003: 285–89.

76. For the date of Themistokles's archonship see Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* 6.34.1; for the connection of his archonship with the beginning of the fortification of Piraeus see Thuc. 1.93.3 and Paus. 1.1.2. Although both of these bits of ancient information have been challenged (see, e.g., Badian 1971: 7–9; Mosshammer 1975), we accept both as reliable, following D. M. Lewis 1973 and

Hornblower 1991: 138–40. Papadopoulos (2003: 285) in fact follows Badian 1971: 7–9 in sundering the fortification of Piraeus from Themistokles's archonship. For Papadopoulos, the move to Piraeus is more likely to postdate the battle of Salamis; he cites the evidence of Hdt. 6.116 that after the battle of Marathon the Persian fleet anchored off Phaleron.

77. On the boundary stones see *IG* I^3 1087–90 = Agora inv. I 5510, I 7039 (both *in situ*), I 5675. T. L. Shear (1978) and Camp (1994) date the boundary stones to ca. 500. Paga (2017: 192–93n10) argues cogently for a *terminus ante quem* of 483 BCE, against Papadopoulos's proposal of a date "shortly after 480 B.C." (2003: 289–91). A date before 483 BCE is, of course, perfectly consistent with Papadopoulos's thesis *grosso modo*.

78. The preliminary (and so far only) excavation report is T. L. Shear 1971; further discussion in T. L. Shear 1993: 427–29 and 1994: 242–44 and, for the date ca. 500 BCE, 247n55. The earliest epigraphic or literary testimony for the stoa is an inscription (*IG* I^3 104) of 409/8 BCE ordering that the law of Drakon be set up before what it calls the "Stoa Basileia." See also Papadopoulos 2003: 291. For an argument that the building has been misidentified, see Robertson 1999. For a recent downdating and discussion of siting, see Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012: 351–52. On broader stratigraphic questions, pertaining to the course of the Eridanos stream and its diversion to accommodate the Stoa Basileios, see Ammerman 1996 and 2011: 264–66.

79. T. L. Shear 1971: 259 with n. 43. T. L. Shear 1994: 244–45 dates the shift to ca. 500 BCE; this seems arbitrary.

80. The most recent discussion of the "Old Bouleuterion" is Paga 2017, accepting the traditional identification. For the initial publication see Thompson 1937: 127–37 (ca. 500 BCE). For debate see S. G. Miller 1995b and T. L. Shear 1995.

81. Thompson 1981: 345–46. T. Leslie Shear Jr. (1994: 236 and n. 50) has proposed raising the date of the "Old Bouleuterion" to ca. 500 BCE on the basis of ceramic evidence from the fill used to level the building's floor against the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios. This material is, however, uniformly of much earlier date, as Shear himself admits: "With respect to the lower limit of the date, only 47 fragments out of a total of 1,086 can be dated to the last three decades of the 6th century" (242). Such material can provide only a vague and unhelpful *terminus post quem* for the "Old Bouleuterion"; indeed, Shear's own date of ca. 500 still postdates the latest figured pottery in the fill by at least twenty-five years. Since the fill in question contained substantial quantities of dug bedrock, it may have been excavated by the builders from the hillside itself while sinking the new foundations; this would help explain the gap in date between the pottery and the building.

Getting down to details, of the sixteen pieces that Shear identifies as being the latest in the assemblage, only one is fineware: an amphora fragment, inv. P2394. Moore and Philippides (1986: 145 no. 348) give this fragment a date in the early sixth century, so it is not probative on the question of whether the "Old Bouleuterion" was built ca. 500 or after the Persian destruction. The two other inventoried fragments of black-figure, P2395 (oinochoe; Moore and Philippides 1986: 193

no. 706, Manner of the Gorgon Painter, early sixth century) and P6077 (band cup; Moore and Philippides 1986: 305 no. 1737, third quarter of the sixth century), tell a similar story. The remaining thirteen fragments that Shear marks as "late" are all black-glaze or coarseware; this material admits of less precision in dating. Shear dates these fragments on the basis of comparanda in Sparkes and Talcott 1970, which in turn lists dates clustering ca. 500 but as late as 480. For fragments dated "ca. 500" see Sparkes and Talcott 1970, nos. 45, 336, 734, 735, 958, 968, and 1600; for one dated "500-480" see no. 1217; "ca. 510-480," no. 1787; "ca. 500-480?," no. 1603; "ca. 482," no. 1757. This evidence, though of admittedly dubious value, is nonetheless more consistent with a date in the fifth century than one in the sixth.

82. The Great Drain was initially thought to be Peisistratid but later recognized as fifth-century (Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 194–97). The "Old Bouleuterion" seems to postdate it; see Thompson 1937: 134: "inasmuch as its foundations are set down in the filling that is contemporary with the Drain."

83. S. G. Miller 1995b. Against Miller see T. L. Shear 1995. Shear shows that Miller's alternative reconstruction of the internal plan of the "Old Bouleuterion" is inconsistent with the sloping terrain of the site. He does not, however, refute what are for present purposes the essential points: first, that there is no good evidence to suggest that the building ever housed the Athenian state council; second, that it is natively implausible that the democracy constructed a second, smaller ("New") Bouleuterion immediately adjacent to a perfectly good and more capacious "Old" one; third, that the architectural continuity between the "Old Bouleuterion" and the Metroon suggests continuity of function as well. Nothing in the evidence Shear presents is inconsistent with Papadopoulos's suggestion that the agora was moved in response to the development of Piraeus starting in the late 490s BCE.

84. Paga (2017: 198) observes that the use of the Doric order for a secular building would have been unprecedented at this date; although she takes this point as evidence for what she calls a "new architectural idiom," the argument seems precisely reversible and ought to count in favor of a sacred function for the "Old Bouleuterion," as opposed to an administrative one.

85. Miller's discussion of this last question is convoluted; fortunately, the question is not directly relevant to the present argument. We feel no obligation to speculate about where the *Boulē* met prior to the construction of the "New Bouleuterion"; the argument that the "Old Bouleterion" did not house the *Boulē* does not require the identification of an alternative seat for that body in order to be compelling.

86. For the identification of the Tholos as Prytanikon, to differentiate it from the older Prytaneion, see Vanderpool 1935; Dow 1937: 27–28; Thompson 1944: 44; Cooper and Morris 1990: 78–79; Papadopoulos 2003: 284. For the categories of those who dined in the Prytaneion (including the quotation "those chosen by Apollo") see the fifth-century Prytaneion Decree (*IG* I^3 131). For the quotation from Aelius Aristeides see *Panathenaicus* 30, with scholia ad loc.

87. Dating the Southeast Fountain House to the 520s, see Camp 1986: 42–44; for downdating see Paga 2015.

88. See, e.g., Greco 2011: 520–23 (F. Longo).

89. Paus. 1.17.4-6. On the Theseion see the overview in di Cesare 2011b.

90. Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 4.7 (= Melanthios fr. 1 W). Plutarch mistakenly identifies the building in question with the Stoa Poikile; it is clear from Pausanias and others that Polygnotos decorated the Theseion. See Robertson 1998: 297–98 and Papadopoulos 2003: 284n78.

91. For a recent overview of oikists' tombs see Herda 2013: 87–90, with Descat 2013. For Cyrene see chapter 5, pp. 172–74; for Poseidonia (Paestum), Greco and Theodorescu 1983: 25–33; for Thasos, Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 69–70; for Selinous, Mertens 2012; for Sikyon and Euphron, Xenophon, *History of Greece* 7.3.12; for a related example, also at Sikyon, see Plutarch, *Life of Aratos* 53.3-6; for Amphipolis, Thuc. 5.11.1, with Agelarakis 2002. To this list one should probably add Miletos (Thales): Herda 2013. On the bones of heroes see Boedeker 1998. The Tyrannicides monument in the Athenian agora is to some extent a variation on this theme—ostensible founders of democracy commemorated in the agora—although the actual graves (cenotaphs?) of the men were in the Kerameikos cemetery.

92. On the Thirty in the Prytaneion see Lysias 13.37.

93. Note that this argument makes, and requires, no pronouncement about where Sill 1 of the peribolos of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods originally stood or when it was made. We remain agnostic on these questions. We maintain, and need maintain, only that there is no good evidence that the sanctuary was in the Classical agora before the end of the fifth century; that available evidence indicates that the sanctuary wall was put in place only at that late date; that this evidence is consistent with a scenario under which the altar of the Twelve originally stood east of the Acropolis and, like the Athenian government itself, only migrated to the Kerameikos during the fifth century; and that this scenario fits better with what we know of Athenian topography in the 400s BCE than any rival does.

94. Schnurr 1995a: 134–35, 1995b: 141. Cf. Lavecchia 2000: 259.

95. This point holds regardless of whether one accepts Schnurr's larger argument that the Lenaia festival was held in the old agora.

96. The Pythion itself is said by Hesychius to have been built by the elder Peisistratos; see Hesychius, s.v. ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι.

97. On dithyrambs at the Thargelia see Parker 1996: 95–96 and P. Wilson 2007.

98. One might even wonder whether the phrase *asteos omphalos*, "the town's navel," might echo the inscriptions that adorned the Hipparchan herms. There is a certain infelicity to the poet's wording, for the altar of the Twelve Gods was the *omphalos*, or center point, not merely of the town of Athens but of the entire city-state, including the countryside: strictly speaking a πόλεως, not an ἄστεος, ὀμφαλός. But Pindar's language is overdetermined: what *asteos omphalos* loses in strict accuracy it gains in allusion to the *en mesōi asteos* formula of the Hipparchan herms: "At the midpoint of the town and . . . ," a point calculated with reference to the altar of the Twelve Gods. If the *omphalos* image connects the altar to the Pythion dedication of Peisistratos the Younger, then *asteos* might evoke the Hipparchan herms.

99. [Aristotle], *Constitution of the Athenians* 22.6, with Mattingly 1991.

100. Cf. Race 1997: 2:311: "The meaning of 'from Zeus' and 'secondly' is not clear."

101. For the construal "starting from Zeus" see Slater 1969, s.v. Διόθεν; van der Weiden 1991: 194–95. For "sent by/inspired by Zeus" see Kirkwood 1982: 329; Lavecchia 2000: 261–62 (quotation from Kirkwood).

102. Lavecchia 2000: 262. Lavecchia also notes that in all the hymnic parallels cited, we have a word like ἄρχω or ἄρχομαι ("*beginning* from Zeus"), which is notably lacking here.

103. *P.Oxy.* 2438, col. ii, lines 8–10: ἐ]π' Ἀρχίου γὰρ ἠγώνισται ἐν Ἀθήναι[ς διθυράμ]βω⟨ι⟩ καὶ νεν{ε}ίκηκεν. For the archon year see D. M. Lewis 1962.

104. Thus Slater 1969, s.v. δεύτερον; Snell and Maehler 1987: 83; Kirkwood 1982: 329; van der Weiden 1991: 197; Lavecchia 2000: 255; Furley and Bremer 2001: 1:257, 2:211.

105. The claim of Kirkwood (1982: 329) that we have a parallel for the mention of a second poem at I.6.2 precisely proves this point by contrast; in the epinikion, Pindar mentions that this is his second poem for the sons of Lampon because it also represents their second victory, which the poet is celebrating and citing as evidence that there will be yet a third. That is to say, δεύτερον at I.6.2 is encomiastically relevant, but we can see no justification for Pindar's recording this fact in his dithyramb fr. 75 SM. Finally, Privitera (1972: 139–40) proposed a novel solution, linking Διόθεν and δεύτερον. The latter, he suggested, indicates that the dithyrambic chorus had drawn by lot the second position in the performance lineup, and since lots are "from Zeus," this also explains Διόθεν. Van der Weiden (1991: 195, 197) effectively refutes both elements of Privitera's theory, pointing out, first, that we have no evidence that lots were drawn for the order of dithyrambic competition (as opposed to the drawing of lots for choice of poet and aulos player, for which we do have evidence), and second, that Privitera's cited parallels refer not to "lots" from Zeus but to "fate" or apportionment from Zeus.

106. Thus Puech 1923: 153; Race 1997: 2:311; P. Wilson 2003: 169–70.

107. P. Wilson 2003: 169–70 (emphasis in original).

108. One argumentative dividend of this interpretation is that the ego throughout the fragment then becomes unambiguously choral, representing the Athenian singers rather than the Theban poet. This is just what we would expect for a cult dithyramb; cf. Maslov 2015: 198–200; Csapo and Wilson, forthcoming.

109. On words of the ἑλικ- root strongly marked to signify circular dance see Csapo 1999–2000: 422; on this fragment in particular, Csapo 2015.

110. On the Olympieion see Tölle-Kastenbein 1994.

111. For a brief overview of work on the Dionysion see Angiolillo 1997: 70–73. On the early theater see Csapo 2007 with Goette 2007.

112. For recent discussions see Schnurr 1995b; Schmalz 2006; Saporiti 2011.

113. *FGrH* 328 F 5b and 173. On Dionysos Orthos see Niafas 2000.

114. Larson 2001: 128–29. Current thinking about the location of the sanctuary of Dionysos *en Limnais* is summarized in di Cesare 2011a.

115. *LIMC*, s.v. Horai, nos. 20–31 (Vasiliki Machaira). François Vase: Attic black-figure volute krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, ca. 575 BCE (Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209, Beazley Archive no. 300000).

116. *IG* II^2 4877. Cf. Robertson 1984: 392–93, arguing likewise, based on many of the same ancient sources, for a shrine of the Horai located "east of the Acropolis, perhaps in an area that had once formed the Agora" (quotation from p. 392).

117. Our thanks to Nikolaos Papazarkadas for this information.

118. Deubner (1932: 190–92) discusses several late texts that connect Helios and the Horai with the *pompē* at the Thargelia: Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.7.1 Bouffartigue (based on Theophrastos); Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights* 729; Schol. Aristophanes, *Wealth* 1054. Although Deubner himself was skeptical about the connection (he thought that both Helios and the Horai had been transferred from the Pyanopsia festival), Parker (2005: 203–4) is more willing to countenance the possibility that Helios and the Horai were involved in the Thargelia celebrations.

119. Amandry 1977.

120. Travlos 1988, s.v. "Pythion." On this region see Billot 1992. Efforts to associate the Pythion with the cave of Apollo *hupo Makrais* are disproved by Gawlinski 2007: 45 (*SEG* 53-56, 57-64). The new fragment of the altar (see above) was discovered in 2009 at 3 Iosiph ton Rogon, or about 660 m as the crow flies south-southeast of the Aglaurion: a very important find that helps to establish the location of the sanctuary. The distance will have been shorter from the old agora, below the Acropolis slopes.

121. *SEG* 33-155, lines 11–15, text and translation after Dontas 1983.

122. For the Aglaurion as the site of the ephebic oath see Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 105.

123. Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 440–49, no. 88, lines 16–20. Text and translation after Siewert 1977. On the text see most recently Kellogg 2013, with earlier references. According to Pausanias (9.35.2), the Athenian Horai are Pandrosos, Thallo, and Karpo, while Auxo and Hegemone are Graces. As Pierre Brulé puts it, "Le Périégète a dû faire une confusion," for Pandrosos is in fact one of the daughters of Kekrops, along with Aglauros and Herse (Brulé 1987: 34). Unlike her sisters, who were worshipped in the Aglaurion, Pandrosos had a temple of her own on the Acropolis itself, alongside that of Athena Polias. Although Pausanias may have gotten his signals crossed, still the error is telling: he has jumbled the Aglaurids and the Horai, thereby, in backhanded fashion, strengthening the argument for a connection between the two.

124. For these shrines see Billot 1992. For Enyalios and the Polemarch see [Aristotle], *Constitution of the Athenians* 58.1.

125. Paus. 1.22.3.

126. Larson 1995: 30, 31, 34.

127. For a similar argument about another Pindaric song in relation to the landscape it orders see Pavlou 2010a (on N.5).

128. Cf. as well the compass-based plan for Cloudcuckooland in Aristophanes, *Birds* 999–1009: "a circle squared, with an agora in the center" (ὁ κύκλος . . . τετράγωνος κἀν μέσῳ ἀγορά, 1005–6).

129. See, e.g., Travlos 1988, s.v. "Olympieion."

130. For a powerful articulation of the extent of our ignorance of Athenian internal politics for this period see Badian 1971. Admittedly, Badian's focus is the period from the reforms of Kleisthenes to 480 BCE; nonetheless, many of his observations about the obscurity of internal politics in Athens hold for the entire first half of the fifth century.

131. On the formation of ritualized bodies and "redemptive hegemony" see C. Bell 1992: 94–117, 140–42, 206–23.

132. On the powerful synaesthetic effects of the fragment see Peponi 2013: 32–34.

133. Van der Weiden (1991: 198) notes the aurally marked opposition between "god" and "mortals" in these lines.

134. Thus van der Weiden 1991: 201–3. Van der Weiden appreciates the divinizing force of the two epithets νεκτάρεα and ἀμβρόταν in rapid succession; less satisfying is the normalizing reading of Lavecchia 2000: 269–70.

135. For the suggestion that the third-person-plural verb is intended simply to disambiguate subject and object see van der Weiden 1991: 202, followed by Furley and Bremer 2001: 2:213. In fact, to judge by his practice elsewhere, this hardly seems to be a concern for Pindar. Better is Lavecchia 2000: 269: "Probabilmente in questo caso evidenzia la molteplicità delle specie di futa, vivacizzando la descrizione della primavera." For a comparable anomalous neuter-plural subject with plural verb conjuring a similar effect of (in this case, disturbing) multiplicity cf. P.1.13-14, with Gildersleeve 1890: 243; for the same grammatical anomaly cf. also O.2.83-84, O.8.12-13, O.10.85, I.7.47.

136. Hamilton (1990: 216–18) reviews all the examples and notes that the *schema Pindaricum* is "virtually confined to the dithyrambs and so worthy of being considered distinctive" to that genre (quotation from p. 217). Given the unifying effects of Dionysiac song and the overwhelming of distinctions Dionysos enables, this restriction makes sense. And yet, scholars have not noted the rhetorical and emotional crescendo that the threefold *schema Pindaricum* effects here.

137. See P. Wilson 2003; Kowalzig 2007a; Kowalzig and Wilson 2013b: 7–18.

138. Carson 1995: 93.

Chapter 5. Cyrene, a Pindaric Schema

1. Ancient sources on Libya are conveniently collected in Ottone 2002. On the archaeological identification of a region see Reger 2007.

2. E.g., Chamoux 1953; Calame 1990, 2003; Malkin 1994: 143–91. Admittedly, Calame does to some extent differentiate between the different odes: so, for example, he distinguishes between the "matrimonial" isotopy in Pythian 9 and the "hospitality" isotopy in Pythian 5, and argues that Pythian 4 represents a kind of colonial autochthony myth via the "divine clod of earth." And yet, Calame's structuralist approach only accounts for these thematic or "isotopic" divergences through some kind of internal, formal necessity of the genre. These thematic differences do not connect in any meaningful way to the specificities of different per-

formance contexts and patrons; to put it another way, Calame's structuralist system is devoid of specific politics or ideology.

3. This process of systematization and rationalization is one major focus of Calame's discussions, linked to his argument about the coemergence of "history" and "mythology" as discursive categories in the ancient context (cf. Calame 1990: 278–80; 2003: 1–34). Thus Calame also acknowledges, for example, that the Hellenistic poet Callimachus was integrating different traditions that were significantly distinguished in Pindar's poetry: "The versions Pindar treated separately have become one legend" (Calame 1990: 320; cf. Calame 2003: 109–10).

4. We have exceptionally clear dating criteria for all three odes, since both Telesikrates and Arkesilas won second victories at panhellenic contests not mentioned in their respective odes. Thus Schol. P.9.Inscr.a, b (2:220–21 Drachmann) inform us that Telesikrates won the stade race at the Pythian games in 470 BCE, while Arkesilas is recorded as an Olympic four-horse chariot victor in 460 BCE (Schol. P.4 .Inscr.a [2:92 Drachmann]; cf. Moretti 1957, no. 268). In both cases, this gives us a firm *terminus ante quem* and a tight window for the composition and performance of each of the three odes: for Pythian 9, 474-470 BCE; for Pythians 4 and 5, 462-460 BCE.

5. This is often acknowledged in modern scholarship; see, e.g., Wilamowitz 1922: 379–80; Farnell 1932: 168; Burton 1962: 135–36; Krummen 1990: 98–99; Lefkowitz 1991: 169.

6. The basic history of Cyrene remains Chamoux 1953, with a convenient overview in B. Mitchell 2001 and assessment in Laronde 2008. For surveys of archaeological research see Chamoux 1989 and Luni 2006a. On politics, Pindar, and urbanism see Bacchielli 1990.

7. For these areas see Austin 2004: 1244 (Cyrene); M. H. Hansen 2004: 624 (Attica); Piérart 2004: 602 (Argive plain).

8. Austin 2004: 1244.

9. The earliest mention of the plant in extant Greek literature is Solon fr. 39.1 W. For modern discussions of silphium see Chamoux 1953: 246–63, 1985; Luni 2002; Amigues 2004.

10. On the settlement of Cyrene, Chamoux 1953 remains indispensable, but Horden and Purcell 2000: 65–74 and Osborne 2009: 8–16 are more recent, concise reviews of evidence. For archaeological evidence and its correlation to ceramic finds see Boardman 1966; Stucchi 1984; Gill 2004; Mei 2013 (Lakonian), 2014. On the city's foundation narratives, both mythological and historical, see Malkin 1987: 204–16, 2003; Dougherty 1993: 136–56; Calame 1996; Giangiulio 2001, all with earlier bibliography. On the colonization of the Libyan region more generally, see Austin 2008. On Cyrene before the Battiad settlement see Chamoux 1953: 39–92. The possibility of Bronze Age remains on the site has been periodically discussed. For skepticism see Boardman 1968; for a more recent claim of a Minoan altar in the Pythian sanctuary see Parisi Presicce 2002. Arguing for pre-Battiad settlement in the Iron Age see Stucchi 1989, with earlier references. Recently evidence has come to light suggesting some Greek presence prior to the Battiad expedition: for an

overview see Luni, Mei, and Conati Barbaro 2013, with Luni, Mei, and Cardinali 2010; Conati Barbaro 2016 (Neolithic).

11. Rhodian presence is attested in the Lindian Chronicle, which mentions "the Lindians, who with the children of Pankis founded Cyrene with Battos" (Λινδίων τοὶ μετὰ τῶν Πάγκιος παίδων Κυράναν οἰκίξαντες σὺν Βάττῳ, *BNJ* 532 F 2). On this passage see Higbie 2003: 28–29 no. XVII, lines 109–17. See also Paus. 3.14.3, counting the Lakedaimonian athlete Chionis among the founders. Dobias-Lalou 2014 reports on what may be a pre-Battiad Rhodian inscription from the area of the agora; Uhlenbrock 2015 reports on early seventh-century Rhodian terracottas from the extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Cyrene, apparently family *hiera* brought by these settlers (and perhaps Cretans).

12. See, e.g., Hdt. 4.186-88.

13. Hdt. 4.159, 161; Chamoux 1953: 134–35, 139. We do not engage here with the problems of Protocorinthian and Corinthian ceramic chronology and its relation to colonial foundations, since the absolute dates for this period play little or no role in our argument. For a recent overview see Neeft 2012.

14. On Greeks and Libyans see Chamoux 1953: 129, 223; Stucchi and Luni 1987; Laronde 1990b, 1993; Bacchielli 2002; Hodos 2006: 158–99; Marshall 2007; Austin 2008: 205–10 (on intermarriage, 209, with earlier bibliography).

15. Dobias-Lalou 2000, esp. 6–10, 291–93; Dobias-Lalou 2007.

16. On Cyrene and Sparta see Nafissi 1985 and Malkin 1994: 143–218.

17. On monarchy at Thera see Hdt. 4.150.2, with Malkin 1994: 113–14. On the Cyrenaean monarchy as an exception to the general rule that Greek monarchs are a historical anachronism see Drews 1983: 121–28 and Carlier 1984: 474–76. On Greek monarchy in general see L. Mitchell 2013 and Luraghi 2013c, with further references.

18. For ancient evidence of a Battiad monopoly in silphium see Aristotle fr. 528 Rose (= Schol. Aristophanes, *Wealth* 925); Suda, s.vv. Βάττου σίλφιον, σίλφιος; Hesychius, s.v. Βάττου σίλφιον. See also the Lakonian Arkesilas cup in the Cabinet des médailles in Paris (inv. 189; fig. 6.1), with discussion of Chamoux 1953: 258–63, 1985: 168; Bresson 2000; Luni 2002; Ensoli 2010: 120; Mei 2013: 27–31, and Strabo 17.836, where the reference to contraband silphium smuggled across the border with Libya suggests that the plant was still regulated by the state in the Roman period. On silphium and the royal monopoly see Chamoux 1953: 246–63, 1985; Luni 2002; Amigues 2004. On Battiads as priests see Chamoux 1953: 138–42, 310 ("roi-prêtre"), with Hdt. 4.161.3.

19. On the kings' submission to Persia see Chamoux 1953: 160–69; B. Mitchell 1966, 2001: 90–93.

20. On the material remains of these towers see Laronde 1987: 257–347, 1990b.

21. Hdt. 4.161; Chamoux 1953: 138–42; Hölkeskamp 1993; B. Mitchell 2001: 87–90.

22. On Demonax see Chamoux 1953: 138–42; Waisglass 1956; Hölkeskamp 1993; U. Walter 1993: 145–49; E. Robinson 1997: 105–8, 2011: 129–36; B. Mitchell 2001: 87–90; Baldacci 2013. For his placement of power *es meson* see Hdt. 4.161 (πάντα τὰ

πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε). On the phrase, a crucial signifier in Archaic ideology, see Detienne 1996: 90–102; Morris 2000: 161–71; Vernant 2006: 213–14, 245 (on Demonax).

23. On *phulai* see Hdt. 4.161 with Chamoux 1953: 221–23; Bacchielli 1978; Jones 1987: 215–18; Hölkeskamp 1993; Boardman 1994; Austin 2008: 193–94. On colonial identity in North Africa see Boardman 1994.

24. Jones et al. 1998. For reviews of work on the territory of Cyrene see Laronde 1994a, 1996. On the archaeology of regions see Reger 2007.

25. On Cyrene in the late sixth and early fifth centuries see the review in Laronde 1990a.

26. Hdt. 4.200-202; cf. Laronde 1990a: 41–43.

27. Chamoux 1953: 192–98.

28. Thus Theotimos, *BNJ* 470 F 1 (quoted in Schol. P.5.34 [2:174-76 Drachmann]; cf. Schol. P.4.455e, [2:161 Drachmann]). See B. Mitchell 1966: 108–10, 2001: 95.

29. On the democracy see Aristotle, *Politics* 1319b6–27; O'Neil 1995: 170–71; E. Robinson 2011: 129–36. Schol. P.4.Inscr.b, lines 10–12 (2:93 Drachmann) report that Arkesilas IV was deposed and killed by the Cyrenaeans; cf. the somewhat garbled version in Aristotle fr. 611 Rose (preserved in the Aristotelian epitomator Herakleides), which names the king Battos and locates his killing in Euhesperides. We do not know exactly when this took place: Chamoux (1953: 205–10) argues for a date of ca. 440, while B. Mitchell (1966: 110, 2001: 95–96) suggests 454 BCE as a *terminus ante quem*.

30. The question of sources is discussed at length in Giangiulio 2001. Cf. Giannini 1979: 46–47 for the suggestion that Herodotus's Theran and Cyrenaean versions coexisted in Cyrene itself and served different interests there.

31. For the Thessalian nymph see Hesiod fr. 215 Merkelbach-West with Larson 2001: 188–91; Debiasi 2008: 105–11. For the Cyrenaean nymph see, besides Pindar, Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.88; Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Κυρήνη (Bekker 1821: 1173); Akesandros *BNJ* 469 F 4; Phylarchos *BNJ* 81 F 16. Cf. Schol. Apollonius Rhodius 4.1561c; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 15.1.77. See also Parisi Presicce 1996.

32. On Aristaios see Ensoli 1994; Bruni 1995; Larson 2001: 84–87; Laronde 2011, with earlier bibliography, and see the discussion in chapter 6, below.

33. On Cyrene before the Battiad settlement see above, n. 10.

34. On the name Karneiadas see Hornblower 2004: 130–31, 244–45. On Apollo Karneios and the Dorians see Malkin 1994: 143–58. On Apollo Karneios at Thera see Hiller von Gaertringen 1940: 70–72.

35. On the battle of Irasa and the events leading up to it see Hdt. 2.161, 4.159; Diodorus Siculus 1.68. See also Chamoux 1953: 135–36.

36. Hdt. 4.159.4: τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων.

37. Cf. Paus. 10.15.7, which specifies that Battos scared a lion by shouting at it: ἐπιὼν τῶν Κυρηναίων τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς ἐρήμοις ἔτι οὖσι θεᾶται λέοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς θέας βοῆσαι σαφὲς καὶ μέγα ἠνάγκασεν. (Not quite what Pindar says.)

38. Debate has raged since the time of the ancient scholia about the precise location Pindar specifies for the tombs of the dead kings through the phrase πρὸ δωμάτων (see Schol. P.5.129 [2:189 Drachmann]). We are agnostic on this topic, except that it seems clear that they were not interred with Battos in the agora; for discussion of all the different possibilities see Currie 2005: 241–44 and chapter 6, p. 209 and n. 77, below.

39. On Apollo *Archegetas* see, *inter alia*, Chamoux 1953: 301 (identifying him with Pythian Apollo); Malkin 1987: 241–50; Detienne 1990, 1998.

40. See above, n. 11.

41. See, e.g., Giangiulio 2001: 129, 135–36.

42. For a convenient overview of Cyrene's layout see Bacchielli 1996b.

43. On the *Skurōta* see Stucchi 1967: 21–25 and Santucci 2016, with earlier bibliography. Cf. Schol. P.5.124a (2:188 Drachmann). The recent identification of the sanctuary of Apollo *Archegetas* has clarified the route of this street, showing that it did not descend to the Pythian sanctuary (as per, e.g., Bacchielli 1990: 8–12) but carried straight on westward to the acropolis. See Purcaro 2001: 31–36; Luni 2008: 20; and discussion below in the main text.

44. On the temple of Apollo Pythios and the theater, see below, nn. 60, 63.

45. On the temple of Zeus, see below, n. 67.

46. On the disposition of shrines around the edge of the city see Luni 2011b, 2013. On chthonic nymphs see Bacchielli, Michele, and Santucci 2000; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2001: 55.

47. See Malkin 1994: 145–47 on the *Skurōta*; cf. Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 40. On the Apolline processions see Krummen 1990: 100. On the sea route to Cyrene see Purcaro 1976.

48. On Archaic Thera see Hiller von Gaertringen 1899–1909; Hiller von Gaertringen 1940; Sperling 1973; Hoepfner 1997; Giese and Kose 2006. The Theran equivalent of the *Skurōta* is known today as the Hauptstraße.

49. Both of these points are amply documented in Mertens 2006.

50. The results of excavation of the agora have been published since 1965 in *L'Agorà di Cirene* (Rome). For overviews of recent work see Mastrogiacomo et al. 2005 (Hellenistic); Luni 2006b; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 844–52; Purcaro 2007. For a review of the site see Scott 2013: 14–44 (with the caveat that the Dioskourion is in fact some distance to the east from where Scott puts it: Luni 2006a: 2193–97, 2008; Luni and Marengo 2010; Antonini 2016 [epigraphy]; Conati Barbaro 2016; Dobias-Lalou 2016). On the politics of the agora after the fall of the Battiads see Bacchielli 1985. For good general treatments of early Greek civic space and architecture see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994; Hölscher 1998b; Hedrick 2013. For crucial conceptual statements see Hölscher 1998b and Vernant 2006: 235–61.

51. On the tomb of Battos see Stucchi 1965: 58–65, 111–14, 139–42, 1967: 50–55; Laronde 1987: 171–75 (doubting); Bacchielli 1990: 12–19, 1996a; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 59–62; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 844–46; Parisi Presicce 2007; Kreutz 2016.

52. On Opheles see chapter 6, p. 199 with nn. 16, 41–44.

53. On the gilt statue of Battos see Schol. Aristophanes, *Wealth* 925 Holwerda; Parisi Presicce 2007: 262.

54. For other cities with a tomb of the heroized founder in the agora see chapter 4, pp. 145–46 with n. 92. See also Gasperini 1997.

55. Apollo *Archegetas* precinct: Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 81; Purcaro 2001: 25–45; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 851.

56. On the prytaneion see Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 83; Purcaro 2001: 49–56, 2002; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 850–51.

57. Hdt. (4.165) speaks of a council (*boulē*) at Cyrene that exercised some power; later sources speak of a *gerousia* and five ephors at Cyrene, though it is unclear whether these institutions existed earlier or represented a Hellenistic archaism (Austin 2006: 200).

58. On the Battiads as priests of Apollo see above, n. 18. Herodotus says only that the kings held priesthoods, without specifying which ones. It is usually assumed that the priesthood of Apollo Pythios would have been included in this number, but it is not absolutely certain.

59. For an excellent treatment of the complexity and flexibility of space in a modern square see Kärrholm 2007.

60. On the Pythian sanctuary see Stucchi 1961, 1975: 16–19; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 105–17; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 851–54; Ensoli 2008, 2010: 122–23, 2012: 111–28. On the temple of Apollo see Stucchi 1975: 16–19; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 852; Sapirstein 2016: 587–92, with earlier bibliography. On the spring of Kyra see Ensoli 1990, 1996. Jacquemin (2011: 209) notes that dedications in the sanctuary frequently omit the epiclesis "Pythios" and argues that this aspect of the deity was downplayed at Cyrene as at many other overseas foundations.

61. On the oracle and Arkesilas III see Hdt. 4.163.

62. On Apollo and Kyra see Parisi Presicce 1996. On the nymph see above, n. 31.

63. On the theater and the Karneia see Ensoli 2007, 2012: 111–18; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 853. On performance at the Karneia see Ceccarelli and Milanezi 2007. For a possible representation of the Spartan Karneia on a Lakonian kylix see Jiang 2016. On cults of Apollo at Cyrene see Chamoux 1953: 301–11.

64. On the strong associations of the Karneia with Dorians and Dorian colonization, with specific reference to Cyrene, see Krummen 1990: 108–16 and Malkin 1994: 143–68. On the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios at Thera see Efstathiou and Bitis 2006.

65. Gaifmann 2012.

66. On the cult of Zeus Ammon at Cyrene see Bisi 1985; Laronde 1994b; Malkin 1994: 143–68; Montanari and Rosamilia 2016.

67. On the temple of Zeus Ammon see Stucchi 1975: 23–29, 253–54; Bacchielli 1998; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 137–45; Bonacasa 2007, 2016; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 854. For the Classical date of the hippodrome see Invernizzi and Luni 2014.

68. On Zeus Lykaios see Hdt. 4.203.2 with Bonacasa 2007. On the shift to Ammon as reflective of the importance of Egypt and Persia see Chamoux 1953: 335–39 and Parke 1967: 202–3. On the cult of Ammon see Classen 1959 and Parke 1967: 194–241.

69. On Baal-Hammon, Carthage, and Cyprus see Counts 2009 and Kleibl 2010. On the Battiads and Cyprus see Hdt. 4.162, 164.

70. Pindar fr. 36 SM. Parke (1967: 207) speculates that it may have been Pindar himself who introduced the cult of Zeus Ammon to Thebes; at any rate, Pausanias (9.16.1) reported seeing there a temple of Zeus Ammon, whose image, carved by Kalamis, had been dedicated by Pindar.

71. For an extended comparison of Zeus Ammon and Apollo Karneios see Malkin 1994: 143–68. On Ammon/Amun as ram-headed see Hdt. 2.42, 4.181; Radwan 2005. On the Egyptian context, in which such horns can be an element of pharaonic regalia, see L. Bell 1985: 268–71 and Pamminger 1992. On Zeus Ammon and other ram gods see Bisi 1985. For a recent downdating of Cyrenaean coins see Gorini 2011. The town of Gythion in Lakonia seems to have had shrines of Apollo Karneios and Ammon in close proximity and used a coin type similar to the Cyrenean (see Paus. 3.21.8; Montagner 2008–9: 80–84).

72. Imhoof-Blumer 1917; Montagner 2008–9: 84–94. Montagner casts some doubt upon the identification with Apollo; yet the alternative—a beardless Zeus Ammon—seems implausible for iconographic reasons. Imhoof-Blumer's exhaustive arguments in favor of identification with Apollo Karneios remain convincing.

73. Telling in this regard is a double herm from Cyrene, of Hellenistic date, bearing the heads of Zeus Ammon and Libya (the latter with distinctive Egyptianizing hair): see Paribeni 1959: 144 no. 416; Laronde 1987: 369; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 213; Montanari and Rosamilia 2016: 20 and n. 23. For a rural shrine to Zeus Ammon at Ain el Hofra, frequented by both Greeks and Libyans in the Hellenistic period, see Menozzi and Fossataro 2010: 157–58; Montanari and Rosamilia 2016: 21.

74. For the cult of Zeus Ammon as a by-product of Greco-Libyan intermarriage see Marshall 2004: 134, 136.

75. Cf. Hornblower 2004: 130 on Telesikrates: "an authentic member of that very distinctive, socially and religiously conservative Dorian society in north Africa."

76. Arkesilas IV's grandmother, wife of Arkesilas III, was a daughter of the Libyan king Alazir (Hdt. 4.164).

77. Recent studies of rupestral sanctuaries in the *chōra* of Cyrene have emphasized this interaction. See Menozzi 2002, 2007, 2015; Fabbricotti 2007b; Marini 2012.

78. On the new "Demeter" sanctuary see Luni 2001, 2003 (akroteria), 2005; Luni, Cardinali, and Mei 2005; Luni 2006a: 2174–91; Kane and White 2007; Cellini 2011 (Hellenistic sculpture); Luni 2011b, 2013: 212–22. See also Fileni et al. 2016 for ritual. The identification of the temple as belonging to Demeter depends largely on the interpretation of one of three marble statues of Hellenistic date found in the cella as a representation of that goddess (cf. Luni 2011b: 228–29); pig bones and a cache of late Hellenistic and Roman lamps have been interpreted in light of this

statue as evidence of a Thesmophorion (Luni 2006a: 2180). Yet the putative Demeter bears no obvious attributes that would secure identification beyond the fact that she is enthroned (cf. Kane 2008). An inscription on the statue, cited as evidence for the identification, reads simply θεαί, "to the Goddess/Goddesses," and is therefore unhelpful (Luni 2011b: 247–49 [S. Marengo]; Inglese 2013b: 236). The two statues found with the enthroned deity represent a cuirassed male figure to which a (Classical?) head of Athena had been attached and a bearded male in a long chiton, perhaps a charioteer (Luni 2006a: 2180–81; Cellini 2011). These figures remain unexplained; it is quite possible that all three reflect a Ptolemaic rededication (see Mastrogiacomo et al. 2005 for a comparable situation in the city's agora). Demeter, meanwhile, did not normally received colonnaded temples. A statuette of Cybele found in the temple further complicates matters (Kane and White 2007: 48). On the other hand, the pig bones are indeed very suggestive of the Thesmophoria. For agnosticism on the whole question see White and Reynolds 2012: 170–71; Kane and White 2007.

79. On the peripteros see Luni 2011b: 226–27, 2013: 200.

80. On Apollo Apotropaios see Luni 2011b: 237–44, 2013: 206–12; Mei 2016. On Zeus Ammon see Luni 2011b: 244. On the Nymphs see Luni 2011b: 230, 2013: 205. On other deities, e.g., Zeus Melichios and the Eumenides, see Gasperini and Rosamilia 2016. On the theater see Massa 2016.

81. For excavation reports see D. White 1984–2012. Luni (2013: 203–4) suggests that the entire complex was organized around the Thesmophoria, with the three main areas (prostyle temple, theatral area, and open precinct of Demeter and Kore) corresponding to the three days of the festival; he thus refers to the ensemble as the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoria. Although intriguing, this suggestion seems speculative. See Kane and White 2007.

82. Luni 2011b, 2013; see also Bacchielli 1994. As often, colonial settlements conform better to François de Polignac's model of the interaction between cult and territory than do mainland ones: see de Polignac 1995; Kane 1998; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2006.

83. For overviews of Archaic sculpture from Cyrene see Paribeni 1959; Luni et al. 2004; Fabbricotti 2007a; Lazzarini and Luni 2010; Cellini 2016. On the sphinx see D. White 1971; Fabbricotti 2003a; Menozzi and Valerio 2016. On the cultic implications of Ionicizing dedications see Kane 1998. On the treatment and placement of votives in the Demeter sanctuary see D. White 2007.

84. Lazzarini and Luni 2010; Cellini 2016.

85. Pedley 1971.

86. The Cyrenaean samples are mostly Parian, with some Naxian and Pentelic: Kane 1998. For additional studies of the provenance of the marble, see Walker, Matthews, and Middleton 1999; Kane 2000; Lazzarini and Turi 2004; Luni et al. 2004; Attanasio, Kane, and Platania 2006; Attanasio, Kane, and Herz 2009; Lazzarini and Luni 2010.

87. The figure for the Peloponnese comes from Meyer and Brüggeman 2007: 113–21, 249–52, and map 3 (note that Meyer and Brüggeman omit the West entirely),

to which we have added two kouroi recovered from looters near Tenea in 2010. The Cyclades, by contrast, have yielded approximately 120 examples; Ionia approximately 135 (all figures from Meyer and Brüggeman 2007). On the paucity of Peloponnesian sculpture see also Kokkorou-Alevras 2011. It is important to emphasize both geography and ethnicity in the distribution of these statue types. The Dorian islands of Melos and Aegina were rich in sculpture, but both lie within or adjacent to the Cycladic-Ionian "heartland" of the kouros and kore; Cyrene is unusual in *both* respects. Sphinx columns are more even in distribution but still lean Ionian, with examples known from Aegina (2), Athens, Corinth, Delos (1 securely attested, 3 or more likely), Delphi, and Thasos, in addition to Cyrene. The sphinx column from Cyrene is the only one known west of Delphi, and the Delphian example is, of course, a dedication of the Naxians. Quantification is hampered, however, by the fact that there exist more preserved votive columns than preserved sphinxes to go atop them; although not every column bore a sphinx, the number and distribution of the latter could still have been significantly different from what the current state of the evidence suggests (see McGowan 1993). For sphinxes on Aegina see Grüben 1965; Hoffelner 1996, with McGowan 1993: 201–26 no. 8 (Aphaia sanctuary). At Athens, Korres 1997; Danner and Ohnesorg 2016 (Acropolis Museum inv. 630 and 632). At Corinth see Wright 1997. On Delos see McGowan 1993: 166–73 no. 2, with Holtzmann 1991: 161–65, for the possibility of two further sphinx columns marking the tomb of the Hyperborean Maidens. At Delphi (Sphinx of the Naxians) see Amandry 1953: 3–32; McGowan 1993: 156–65 no. 1. On Thasos see Holtzmann 1991.

88. See, e.g., Cherstich 2006.

89. Cf. Greaves 2010: 120–44, 201–18.

90. Kane 1998.

91. Austin 1990: 298–302; B. Mitchell 2001: 91.

92. On Battiad dedications see below, "Beyond Libya: Cyrenaean Dedications at Delphi and Olympia." On Deinomenids and mercenaries see chapters 7 and 8, pp. 238–39, 255–56.

93. A. F. Stewart 1986.

94. On elite dedicatory practice in the extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Kore see Kane 1998.

95. Cherstich 2006. The essential study of the Cyrene necropoleis is Thorn 2005; see also Cherstich and Paolini 2002.

96. Thorn 2005: 461.

97. For an even more tantalizing suggestion, to the effect that traces of the internal divisions of the polis are visible in the land divisions in the Cyrenaean *chōra*, see Jones et al. 1998. For recent work and salvage in the *chōra* see Menozzi, Tamburrino, and Di Antonio 2017.

98. Schol. P.9.Inscr.b. (2:221 Drachmann): τούτου δὲ ἀνάκειται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδρίας ἔχων κράνος.

99. The date is far from certain; fortunately, the precise chronology is not important for our purposes. The Olympic victor list, *P.Oxy.* 222 (*BNJ* 415 F 2; Chris-

tesen 2007: 204, 383), places Mnaseas in the eighty-first Olympiad, in 456 BCE. This date, however, would have him winning the race in armor eight years after his son won the chariot race in 464 BCE (see below), which seems improbable. Moretti (1957, no. 194), accordingly, reassigns Mnaseas to the nearest "unassigned" slot for this event: 484 BCE. To place Mnaseas and Kratisthenes later in the fifth century would take them out of the working life of Pythagoras of Rhegion. Nicholson (2016: 154n151) suggests that Mnaseas was actually the son of Kratisthenes; this expedient seems extreme.

100. Paus. 6.13.7; *DNO*, no. 678. Cf. H.-V. Herrmann 1988: 166, 175 and R. R. R. Smith 2007: 137. On Pythagoras see *DNO*, nos. 668–96, with discussion.

101. Pliny, *Natural History* 34.59; *DNO*, no. 669. For discussion see Stuart-Jones 1895: 57; Moretti 1957: 87 no. 194.

102. Cf. *DNO*, no. 678: "Den Beinamen wird Pausanias schwerlich der Inschrift entnommen haben." Since Pausanias specifies that the figure wore a Greek panoply, while the Libyans wore leather armor (Hdt. 7.71), this identifying feature was most likely physiognomic, perhaps a red beard of the sort that identifies the Libyan Antaios on Euphronios's krater in the Louvre (Paris, Louvre G103; Beazley Archive no. 200064). In other respects the statue might have resembled the Tübingen runner (see chapter 2, pp. 52–56 and figs. 2.8, 2.9) or an early Classical *hoplitodromos* figurine from Cyrene itself (Cyrene, Museum; Hausmann 1977: 59–61 and plate 15).

103. Paus. 6.18.1. See H.-V. Herrmann 1988: 166, 175; Schollmeyer 2001: 23–24, 195 no. 15; Jünger 2006: 63–81; R. R. R. Smith 2007: 137; Nicholson 2016: 154n151 (proposed downdating), 266–67; *DNO*, no. 679. The suggestion by Jünger (2006: 64) that Pausanias mistook a representation of Cyrene for Nike is implausible.

104. Paus. 10.15.6-7. On this monument see Chamoux 1953: 199–201; Jacquemin 1999: 69, 126n115, 186, 320 no. 130; Schollmeyer 2001: 85–88 (arguing for a later date); Nicholson 2005: 52; Jünger 2006: 169–75. On Amphion of Knossos see *DNO*, nos. 573–74.

105. Chamoux 1953: 199–201.

106. Chamoux suggests that the group was rededicated after the fall of the monarchy, but that is special pleading.

107. On the dedicatory formulae for military victories see Lazzarini 1976; Jim 2014: 176–202. A good example is the base alongside the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, which reads Ἀθεναῖοι τõι Ἀπόλλονι ἀπὸ Μέδον ἀκροθίνια τε̃ς Μαραθõνι μάχες ("The Athenians to Apollo, firstfruits from the Medes from the battle of Marathon"): see Audiat 1930; Jacquemin 1999: 315 no. 077. The Athenians erected one of the very first chariot groups at the entry to the Acropolis, as a tithe for victory over the Boiotians in 507/6 BCE (see Hdt. 5.77, with *IG* I^3 501 [= *CEG* 179]; Korres 2000: 312–14; Schollmeyer 2001: 53–61; Keesling 2003a: 49–51, 2010: 323–25; Jünger 2006: 223–50).

108. Chamoux 1953: 160–68. The only candidate for such a victory is the capture of Barke by the Persians sometime in the 480s BCE, but this event, while certainly to the benefit of Cyrene, seems too early for a work of Amphion of Knossos.

109. Jacquemin 1999: 83–84 ("Remerciements pour une prospérité matérielle"), 70–71 no. 365 (Metapontion). Jim (2014: 176n2) suggests that such offerings were rare, but her list of examples is smaller than Jacquemin's, even though the latter are from Delphi alone.

110. Cf. Hdt. 4.170, 7.86, 7.184. On a Libyan procession featuring a girl in a chariot see Hdt. 4.180.

111. On the Ammon group see Paus. 10.13.5; Schollmeyer 2001: 63–64, 198 no. 2; Jünger 2006: 307; Scott 2010: 127n91.

112. Kraay 1976: 217.

113. The reverse shows Herakles and Cerberus. In the repertoire of Athenian vase painting, males and females share a chariot in a finite number of contexts. Most common are nuptial images, abductions, and wedding processions, but in all these cases the male holds the reins; scenes with the female driving are much less common. The most familiar type is the Apotheosis of Herakles, with Athena or Nike driving the hero to Olympos; Cyrene, however, cannot be performing the same service for Battos, who was not divinized (although he may have been heroized). The Munich amphora is distinctive in combining this motif with that of crowning: a direct analogy with the Battos group.

114. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.12–13.

115. Theotimos, *BNJ* 470 F 1; B. Mitchell 1966: 108–10, 2001: 95.

116. Theotimos *BNJ* 470 F 1.

117. Cf. Kurke 1998 and Neumann-Hartmann 2009.

Chapter 6. The City, the Body, and the Eye

1. The phrase "ancient-spoken prophecy" derives from O.2.39-40; for the function of oracles in Pindar see Dougherty 1993: 104–15, 124–27, 146–51, 1994; Rutherford 2001; Athanassaki 2009; Maslov 2015: 201–12.

2. For the prominence of the Delphic oracle in colonial foundation narratives in general see Forrest 1957; Malkin 1987; Dougherty 1993. For Delphi serving this function in particular within colonial narratives in Pindar cf. O.7.31-33; Pai. 2. With specific reference to the foundation of Cyrene see Parke and Wormell 1956: 73–77; Leschhorn 1984: 62–63, 105–11, 114–15; Giangiulio 2001: 117–18.

3. On the "paradox" or "irony" of the prophetic god receiving a prophecy see Burton 1962: 39; Carey 1981: 80; Woodbury 1982: 245–46; Köhnken 1985: 94; Calame 1990: 300–301, 2003: 68; Dougherty 1993: 147–48. For this as a charming vignette of Apollo's first love, see Woodbury 1972, 1982; Carey 1981: 69–70, 74–76; Köhnken 1985.

4. For the prominence of marriage in general see Gildersleeve 1890: 337–38; Woodbury 1972, 1982; Robbins 1978; Carey 1981: 85–86, 102–3; Carson 1982; Köhnken 1985; Calame 1990, 2003. For exogamy specifically see Kurke 1991: 127–33 (= 2013b: 112–17); Dougherty 1993: 137–52.

5. For this image system see Carey 1981: 85–87; Carson 1982; Kurke 1991: 127–33 (= 2013b: 112–17). For this "matrimonial isotopy" in Pythian 9 see also Calame 1990: 302–4, 307, 311, 2003: 68–74; Calame (1990: 302–3) notes that the theme of

productive intermarriage between different "races" even extends to the impregnation of Alkmene by Zeus in the Theban "digression" of P.9.79-89. Cf. Carey 1981: 92, 102–3.

6. Cf. Calame 1990: 308–9, 312, 2003: 80–81, 84 on the prominence of the "isotopy of hospitality" in Pythian 5.

7. On the poem's representation of the religious and political *xenia* of the Antenoridai, and the reference to *xenoi* at P.5.57 as anticipating it, see Krummen 1990: 121–29, 142. On the complex temporal collapse achieved by these lines see Krummen 1990: 120–30; Calame 1990: 313, 2003: 80–81.

8. Thus Schol. P.9.90a, b (2:228 Drachmann); Schroeder 1922: 83; Chamoux 1953: 331–39; Carey 1981: 81; Malkin 1994: 161–63.

9. Thus Carey 1981: 81, following Malten 1911: 4. For this "garden of Zeus" or "garden of the gods" cf. Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 16a, b; Euripides, *Hippolytus* 742–50, with Barrett 1964: 303–6. As Carey (1981: 81) notes, the naming of the westernmost city of Cyrenaica Euhesperides suggests that the ancient Greek settlers were deliberately affiliating themselves with this legend.

10. For a compelling argument that these are local Cyrenaean contests, see Carey 1981: 97.

11. Cf. Krummen 1990: 103–16; Malkin 1994: 149–61.

12. Thus esp. Krummen 1990: 108–41; D'Alessio 1994: 123–24; Currie 2005: 226–27. For performance of Pythian 5 at the Karneia see Gildersleeve 1890: 278, 305; Wilamowitz 1922: 377–81; Farnell 1932: 168; Bowra 1964: 138; Calame 1990: 278, 2003: 36; Krummen 1990: 108–16; D'Alessio 1994: 123–24; Malkin 1994: 145; Giannini in Gentili et al. 1995: 160; Currie 2005: 226–27. But for doubts about the Karneia as the performance setting see Chamoux 1953: 179n1; Burton 1962: 135–36; F. Ferrari 2012: 170–72.

13. For a similar reading of Pindar's deployment of the Hesiodic topoi of the good king in support of another West Greek ruler see K. A. Morgan 2015: 229–31 (on O.1 for Hieron).

14. Cf. Calame 1990: 304–5, 2003: 74, noting the prominence of the theme of pastoralism in Pythian 9.

15. On the hunting and pastoral commitments that link mother and son, Cyrene and Aristaios, see Robbins 1978; Carey 1981: 72–73, 84; Calame 1990: 301–2, 2003: 69.

16. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights* 894a Koster: Ἀρισταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κυρήνης πρῶτος τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σιλφίου ἐξεῦρεν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος; cf. Suda, s.v. σίλφιον (σ 423 Adler). Ensoli (1994) suggests that Aristaios and Opheles were identified as a single *daimōn* in Cyrene; see p. 199 with nn. 41–44. If this was the case, Pindar's language here is perhaps simultaneously playing on the meaning of the name Opheles in the phrase χάρμα φίλοις; for this, cf. the scholiast's gloss on this phrase: θρέψουσι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χαρὰν καὶ ὄφελος, ἀκόλουθον ὄντα τῶν προβάτων (Schol. P.9.113a [2:231 Drachmann]).

17. The same is true of the scholia on these lines in Pythian 9 (2:231 Drachmann). While they never mention silphium, they tell us that (1) Aristaios was "the inventor

of honey" (112); (2) "before Aristaios was born, the herds/flocks had no attendants" (113a); (3) Aristaios was called Agrios and Nomios "because of having invented κτηνοτροφία and κυνηγεσία" (115a); (4) Aristaios "first thought of the cultivation of olive trees and the cultivation of honey" (115b). Thus this is a particular version of Aristaios who precisely conforms to aristocratic farming and husbandry practices in the cultivated *chōra* of Cyrene.

18. For the linkage of agricultural and human fertility through marriage throughout Pythian 9 cf. Calame 1990: 302–5, 2003: 67–74; Dougherty 1993: 141–46.

19. For this dual system see Applebaum 1979: 82–109, citing relevant ancient sources. For the remarkable agricultural fertility of Cyrene see Hdt. 4.199, which according to Applebaum (1979: 94) is essentially correct on the three sequential sowings per year in the Cyrenaica; Herodotus simply exaggerates when he claims that the harvest season extended for eight months.

20. For a similar valorization of the cultivated *chōra* and its cults, in contrast to the urban center (as in P.9), see Nicholson 2016: 297–307 on Bacchylides 11 for a victor from Metapontum.

21. That Pythian 4 was actually commissioned and paid for by Damophilos is suggested by the poem's closing lines (P.4.298-99), with their allusive *sphragis* about the exiled aristocrat "recently hosted in Thebes." The scholiast to Pythian 4, line 263 ("Know now the wisdom of Oedipus") notes: "Certain men rebelled against Arkesilas, wishing to depose him from power. But he, having proved himself stronger, sent them into exile. Among the rebels was also Damophilos, who was himself driven from his homeland, and, as an exile, he goes to Thebes and asks Pindar (but some say that he himself even gives Pindar the payment for the epinikion), by the writing of the epinikion to reconcile him to Arkesilas" (Schol. P.4.467 [2:162-63 Drachmann]). The scholiast's idea that the poem was commissioned and perhaps even paid for by Damophilos is probably only a guess, but one considered plausible by Farnell (1932: 167), Carey (1980: 143–44), and Braswell (1988: 5–6). We concur with those modern scholars who assume that the arrangement for Damophilos' pardon by the king and return must already have been concluded before and behind the rhetoric of Pindar's ode. Thus Gildersleeve 1890: 278, 303; Carey 1980: 148; Braswell 1988: 5–6 with n. 15.

22. See, e.g., Burton 1962: 137: "It seems, however, more natural to assume, for *Pythians* 4 and 5, that the ceremony in which all the citizens of Cyrene took part to do honour to Arcesilaus preceded the κῶμος in the palace at which Pindar presented the suit of his friend Damophilus. *Pythian* 4 refers only very briefly (vv. 66f.) to the victory, and this perhaps presupposes the public ode in which full justice is done to the requirements of a commissioned Epinician." Scholars also tend to assume (as Burton does here) a different performance venue for Pythian 4: a private celebration in the palace in contrast to a full-scale civic performance for Pythian 5 (cf. Braswell 1988: 2).

23. For the concept of *diallagē* see Neer 2002b: 155–82.

24. Note that these two titles together correspond to the official designation of Battos in the Oath of the Founders as Βάττομ μὲν ἀρχαγετα[ν] [τ]ε καὶ βασιλῆα (*SEG* IX 3, lines 26–27). Many scholars have noted the verbal echoes between the non-Delphic prophecies of Medea in Pythian 4 and of Cheiron in Pythian 9: both are characterized as ζαμενής at the moment of delivering the oracle (P.4.10. P.9.37), and in both cases the oracular utterance is designated μῆτις (P.4.58, P.9.38). Cf. Segal 1986: 140n36; Maslov 2015: 195.

25. Calame 1990: 285–94, 300, 311, 2003: 55–63.

26. A structural link reinforced by the repetition in Pythian 4 of a phrase for passing from hand to hand with emphatic polyptoton: χερὶ χειρός at P.9.122 corresponds to χειρί οἱ χεῖρ' at P.4.37.

27. Scholars have acknowledged that it is Pindar's innovation to displace the Argonauts' visit to Lemnos to the homeward journey of the *Argo*, rather than making it a feature of the outbound voyage, where it makes better geographic sense (see Burton 1962: 164; Braswell 1988: 131, 347–48; Calame 1990: 285–86). But modern interpreters have generally been silent on why the loss of the clod should necessitate Euphamos's interbreeding with Lemnian women. For Calame (1990: 286, 2003: 49–50), this is a kind of narrative superimposition or layering of the "mineral" and "matrimonial" isotopies that seems to require no explanation. Braswell (1988: 117) offers only an entirely practical account of why the clod has to get washed up on Thera to introduce a sufficient temporal delay in the Greek colonization of Cyrene, but he never addresses what happens to the clod and the necessity of intermarriage. Herodotus, by contrast, has no clod, and the Minyan descendants of the Argonauts go from Sparta to settle Thera pretty much by accident. Apollonius Rhodius (4.1731-64) uses the clod differently; for him, it becomes the seed of the island of Thera itself, which grows from the sea just as Rhodes does in Pindar's narrative in Olympian 7. Note that this Hellenistic version reverses the relations of mother and child between Cyrene and Thera.

28. Cf. Dougherty 1993: 31–44, 120–35, 1998 for similar strategies of displacement of the violence toward native populations entailed by Greek colonization. In this scenario, the founder becomes a murderer, and colonization itself becomes the purification.

29. Another way to think about this is that the descent of Battos from Euphamos's "mingling" with Lemnian women allows the Battiad bloodline to represent not just the Spartan and Theran elements in Cyrene's settlement, but also that of the "islanders" as well. That is to say, the king combines in his own person the three different ethnic elements Demonax sorted into three separate *phulai* (cf. Hdt. 4.161.3).

30. This is well recognized by Giannini 1979 (though he does not set this theme in relation to Pythians 9 and 5); cf. also Calame 1990: 283, 2003: 46.

31. Thus also Giannini 1979: 41–42. For the ideology of Apollo's oracle at Delphi as the authorized mouthpiece for the will of Zeus cf. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.132; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4.533-38; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 17–19.

32. Thus Giannini 1979: 46: “Batto è re della Libia fin da quel momento.” Giannini (1979: 51) also notes the ring composition within the poem, with another “propitious” “voice of thunder” ratifying Jason’s prayers for success and return at the start of the *Argo*’s voyage (P.4.193-98).

33. For the distances involved here see Braswell 1988: 84.

34. This collaboration of Zeus and Apollo oracles in Pythian 4 notably contrasts with the historical phenomenon, observed by C. Morgan (1990: 149, 222), of a rivalry or competition between Zeus and Apollo oracles in the late Archaic period, whereby the Zeus oracles of Dodona and Ammon tend to be allied against Apollo at Delphi.

35. For the former (the fertility of the Libyan land as a hereditary birthright for the descendants of Euphamos), cf. Calame 1990: 289, 2003: 53–54 on the βῶλαξ as γαῖαν (P.4.21) and ἀρούρας (P.4.34) at the moment Triton offers it to Euphamos; for the latter (the pervasive language and imagery of agricultural fertility throughout the poem), cf. P.4.6, 14-15, 42-43, 56, 64-65, 69, 144, 224-29, 234-37 with Segal 1986: 68–70, 150, 187. It is noteworthy that in contrast to the emphasis on pastoralism in Pythian 9, Pythian 4 focuses entirely on the imagery of agricultural fertility, with one significant exception: at P.4.148-49, right after mention of the “division of ancestral honors,” Jason offers to Pelias all the wealth consisting of sheep and cattle as long as the latter cedes the monarchy to Jason as the rightful king. This opposition between wealth in livestock and monarchic rule suggestively corresponds to the division in Cyrenaean society between the wealthy landed aristocrats and the Battiad kings.

36. Note also θεμέθλοις at P.4.16, which imagistically transforms the entire *chōra* of Libya itself into a built monument.

37. The text here follows Snell and Maehler and Race; σπέρμ’ ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος is Gottfried Herrmann’s (1809) emendation for περ ἀρούραισι τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνας, which heals sense and meter. Editors universally accept σπέρμ’ ἀρούραις for περ ἀρούραισι, but then split on whether to read ἀκτῖνας (MSS) or ἀκτῖνος (also Herrmann’s conjecture) and ὄλβου (some MSS) or ὄλβῳ (reading of all the scholia). We concur with Braswell (1988: 351) on the reasons for ἀκτῖνος versus ἀκτῖνας: “Once σπέρμ’ . . . had been corrupted to περ, the sentence was then left without a direct object, which was supplied by altering ἀκτῖνος to ἀκτῖνας, a change made still easier by the ending of ὑμετέρας.” (Turyn, in contrast, reads ἀκτῖνας, as apposition to σπέρμα.) On the other hand, we prefer ὄλβου (with Snell and Maehler, Race) to ὄλβῳ (read by Turyn, Braswell) for reasons stated below (n. 85). For thorough discussion of all the textual issues see Braswell 1988: 351–53.

38. On the complex layering of different themes or isotopies in these lines cf. Calame 1990: 289–90, 2003: 54–55. The potent agricultural imagery for the breeding of the line of Euphamos is reinforced in these verses if we follow Segal (1986: 70–71) and Nicholson (2000: 199) in seeing in ἀκτῖνος and τέλλετο the image of Battiad blood and its prosperity as a sunrise quickening the land. See further discussion pp. 214–15.

39. For this interpretation of σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς see Braswell 1988: 357: "The τιμαί are the concrete acts of favour shown to the Cyrenaeans by the gods; cf. 68–69. . . . Such practical gifts (esp. of power and wealth) are regarded by Pindar as 'honours' bestowed by the gods on men."

40. Cf. *Il.* 1.510, 2.420, 3.62, 4.445, 16.631, 651, 20.242, 23.524; *Od.* 2.334, 14.233, 15.21, 16.174; *Works and Days* 14, 33, 213, 412, 495; Pindar is perhaps influenced here by *Works and Days* 412, μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει ("attention quickens the work"), a line to which he alludes at I.6.66-67.

41. Thus Stucchi 1965: 34–46, 1967: 50, 1975: 7–8; L. Gasperini in Stucchi 1965: 46–48, in Stucchi 1967: 165–66; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 61–62. This identification is based on the end of a graffito scratched into a fragmentary mid-sixth-century late Rhodian cup, which reads (in retrograde)]Λ̣ΠΙΟ ΟΦΕΛΕΙ or]Α̣ΠΙΟ ΟΦΕΛΕΙ. L. Gasperini (who originally published the inscription in Stucchi 1965: 46–48) interprets this as "X, son of -lpios to Ophelles [dedicated this/me]." But Gasperini acknowledges that if we read -ΑΠΙΟ, we could take this as the genitive of "Asklepios" or, with the supplement of a final iota (a single vertical line in the graffito script) as the dative of "Asklepios" in Doric dialect. So if we are willing to imagine that the graffitist inadvertently omitted the final iota, this could mean "to Asklepios Ophelles," that is, "to Asklepios the Helper." Nonetheless, Gasperini thinks -ΛΠΙΟ the more likely reading than -ΑΠΙΟ. As for the etymology: from the verb ὀφέλλω is derived the deverbative ὠφελέω (iterative? intensive?), from which, in turn, is derived the name Ὠφέλης. Thus all these terms are closely connected with one another. For an exhaustive discussion of the etymologies of this whole linked set of names for the *daimōn* (Opheles, Ophelandros, Epopheles, Epheles, Ephialtes, Epialtes, etc.) see Arena 1974.

Since Stucchi and Gasperini's original publication of these levels of the oikos (their E1 and E2) and the graffito, two different theories of the identity of the oikos have been proposed: (1) Büsing (1978: 66–75) contends that the oikos must be a shrine to Apollo. There is, however, no actual evidence for this view: Büsing assumes a priori that Apollo must have had a temple from the earliest stages of the settlement and reasons that, since this building dates back to that time and is closely connected with the oikist Battos, it must be a shrine to Apollo. Büsing further contends (1978: 70) that the ΟΦΕΛΕΙ of the graffito represents a third-person indicative verb (ὠφελεῖ) or a second-person imperative (ὠφέλει), so either "he helps" or "help!" addressed to the god. (2) Parisi Presicce (2007), on the other hand, contends that the closest parallels for E1 are domestic architecture of this date, not public temples. He therefore suggests that E1 was originally the house of Battos himself, consecrated as a shrine after his death. He follows Büsing for alternative interpretations of the graffito and suggests that its archaeological context is not probative.

42. See Artemidorus, *Interpretation of Dreams* 2.37 (on the *daimōn* Ephialtes's appearance in dreams), significantly sandwiched between discussions of Pan and Asklepios: "And Ephialtes has been considered identical to Pan, but he signifies different things. For, when he oppresses and weighs one down and does not reply at

all, he signifies burdens and anxieties. And, when asked something, whatever he replies is true. And if he should also grant something and have intercourse with the dreamer, it foretells great benefits, and most of all when he does not weigh one down. And when he approaches, regardless of what he might do, he will heal the sick. For he never approaches a dying man" (trans. Harris-McCoy 2012: 221). For the identification of Ephialtes and Opheles see Hesychius, s.vv. Ὠφέλης· ὁ Ἐφιάλτης and Ἐπωφέλης· ὁ καλούμενος Ἐφιάλτης. See Arena 1974: 294 for the helpful suggestion that Opheles/Epopheles/Epheles represents the *daimōn* in his benevolent, healing aspect, while Ephialtes/Epialtes, etc., represents the same *daimōn* in his more malevolent aspect.

43. Ensoli 1994; cf. Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 61–62.

44. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights* 894a Koster: Ἀρισταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κυρήνης πρῶτος τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σιλφίου ἐξεῦρεν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος. Cf. Suda, s.v. σίλφιον (σ 423 Adler).

45. For the royal monopoly in silphium see above, chapter 5, n. 18. Relevant here is the Lakonian Arkesilas cup in the Cabinet des médailles in Paris (inv. 189), with discussion of Chamoux 1953: 258–63, 1985: 168; Bresson 2000; Luni 2002; Ensoli 2010: 120; Mei 2013: 27–31. Chamoux and Bresson contend that the cup represents Arkesilas overseeing the weighing of silphium, and locate the scene in the agora of Cyrene; if they are correct, then a likely place for these activities would be the *temenos* of the shrine of Opheles, enclosed by an enlarged peribolos wall in the third quarter of the sixth century, marked E2 on our fig. 5.6 (Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 61). More recently, however, Ensoli has tentatively identified what may be a later (fourth- to third-century BCE) silphium processing facility near the sanctuary of Apollo, and suggested that the scene on the cup may take place on that site (see Ensoli 2010: 118–20, 2012: 132–33); but evidence is lacking.

46. For all these different forms of reperformance and circulation see Loscalzo 2003: 99–119; Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Morrison 2007: 15–19, but note the skepticism of Carey 2007: 200 in relation to Hubbard's theory of poems circulating (like "offprints") in written form.

47. On Karrhotos see Nicholson 2005: 42–53; for a quotation of this passage, see chapter 3, pp. 98–99.

48. For the lion fight transferred from Cyrene to Battos see Dougherty 1993: 147; for the lion fight as a traditional Near Eastern myth affirming the sovereignty of the rightful king see esp. Krummen 1990: 143–44. On the iconography of Cyrene and the lion see Parisi Presicce 1996. It is worth noting that between the two mentions of "bearing over the sea" the point of view or deictic center has shifted from Thessaly in mainland Greece (in P.9) to North Africa (in P.5). See the discussion below on the articulation of spatial relations throughout Pythian 5, and, for similar effects of "decentering" Greek literature and mythology southward from Greece to North Africa in Callimachus and other Hellenistic poets see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012: 148–203.

49. For other occurrences of πρόφρων for a kindly disposed divinity see N.5.22, I.4.43, fr. 94b, line 4.

50. For δύνασις signifying specifically "physical strength" see Slater 1969, s.v. δύνασις (a). Based on the formation of the two nouns, Stephen Colvin notes, "one might wonder if *dunasis* is 'atelic' ability (in action, or potential), while *dunamis* is achieved power, authority" (pers. comm.).

51. See, e.g., Burton 1962: 148; Lefkowitz 1991: 189–90.

52. *Dunasis* is rare in Archaic and Classical Greek generally, occurring outside of Pindar only in Ibykos fr. 166.10 *SLG*; Bacch. 9.49; Sophocles, *Antigone* 604, 952 (both lyric passages); Euripides, *Ion* 1012 (in iambic trimeter; emended by Diggle to *dunamin*); *IG* II^2 1126, line 5; *CEG* 2.888.4 (Lycia; fourth century?). LSJ, s.v., calls *dunasis* "poetic"; note that it is almost entirely confined to lyric passages, so perhaps "Doric"? Thus Michael Weiss (pers. comm.). Thanks to Stephen Colvin and Michael Weiss for discussion of the linguistic issues relating to *dunasis*. As for Pindar, in all three Pindaric instances (P.4, P.5, P.9) δύνασις is the much better attested manuscript reading, but δύναμις also occurs in some manuscripts, whereas in nine to ten other passages of Pindar the manuscripts offer only δύναμις. The two forms are metrically identical, but δύνασις is secured in the manuscripts in these three poems as *lectio difficilior*; see Braswell 1988: 326.

53. For this as the fundamental ideological gesture of epinikion in general and the Arkesilas odes in particular see Nicholson 2000. This echo of δύνασις in Pythian 4 tends to support those modern scholars who see in Jason a paradigm or model for Arkesilas; thus Robbins 1975: 210–12; Giannini 1979; Carey 1980 (with nuancing); Segal 1986: 19; Nicholson 2000: 197–99.

54. Thus Burton 1962: 135, 144; Krummen 1990: 98–99; Lefkowitz 1991: 169; Sobak 2013.

55. For performance at the Karneia see Gildersleeve 1890: 278, 305; Wilamowitz 1922: 377–81; Farnell 1932: 168; Bowra 1964: 138; Calame 1990: 278, 2003: 36; Krummen 1990: 108–16; D'Alessio 1994: 123–24; Malkin 1994: 145; Giannini in Gentili et al. 1995: 160; Currie 2005: 226–27; Sobak 2013. For such topographical references as characteristic of cult songs see, e.g., Pindar's Paian 2 with Dougherty 1994; P.11.1-11, fr. 94b; discussion in chapters 1 and 4, above.

56. Thus Gildersleeve 1890: 278, 305; Wilamowitz 1922: 379; Farnell 1932: 168; more cautiously, Bowra 1964: 138.

57. Krummen 1990: 108–16, 126. But note that for this localization to work, Krummen has to insist that the Apollo temple in the agora is the temple of Apollo Karneios (Krummen 1990: 103–6, 114), but this is controversial. We consider it more probable that the precinct of Apollo Karneios is northeast of the agora, at the foot of the acropolis, together with the spring Kyra (see chapter 5, pp. 175–76). For a different critique of Krummen see F. Ferrari 2012: 170–72.

58. F. Ferrari 2012; cf. Chamoux 1953: 267–69; Burton 1962: 136.

59. Thus we agree with Krummen's conclusion (1990: 151) that "die komplexe Gestaltung der Komposition nicht das Ergebnis eines theoretischen Entwurfs, sondern Ausdruck der unmittelbar einfließenden Gegenwart ist." We contend, however, that the best evidence for that input is not the philological reconstruction

of religious belief, but the visible and tangible organization of bodies in space: in short, architecture and spatialization.

60. See Felson 1999 for "vicarious transport"; Felson 2004b as well as the other essays in that special issue of *Arethusa* 2004 (ed. Felson). See also F. Ferrari 2012: 171–72 for sensible remarks on Pindar's penchant for conjuring up specific places and ritual occasions: "Pindar liked to connect the *hic et nunc* of the occasion with the cyclical time of cultic ritual, and the immediacy of sight and hearing with the memory of significant themes of civic and religious identity. This supple attitude towards space and time was an important element of his artistic *poikilia*."

61. Cf., e.g., the general characterization of the workings of Greek choral lyric in Mullen 1982: 3–45; Burnett 1985: 7–14; Kowalzig 2007b: 1–55.

62. For colonies lacking panhellenic mythology see Malkin 1994; V. Lewis 2014, 2019a.

63. This point has been made many times: see, e.g., Gildersleeve 1890: 306; Burton 1962: 144; Bowra 1964: 281; Lefkowitz 1991: 183–85.

64. See, e.g., Malkin 1994: 143–68; Sobak 2013.

65. We accept Hermann's emendation of the manuscripts' ἔχει to ἐπεί at line 17, for the reasons articulated in Farnell 1932: 169–71 (thus with Race's Loeb versus Rose 1939, followed by Snell and Maehler). With ἔχει these lines seem to be completely tautological, but even with ἐπεί they are not much better. So Gildersleeve 1890: 308: "I follow the MSS, though it is hard to frame a clear translation"; Wilamowitz 1922: 381n1: "Der Gebrauch von ὀφθαλμός ist kühn. . . . [D]er Zusatz συγγενής macht den Ausdruck allerdings wohl nicht nur für unser Gefühl zu einem παρακεκινδυνευμένον, wie es der Stil des späteren διθυραμβῶδες liebt"; Farnell 1932: 169: "This passage more than any other in Pindar tasks scholarship and taste"; Burton 1962: 140: "One cannot help feeling that a metaphorical interpretation of ὀφθαλμός makes even more obscure what is already obscure enough; nor is the obscurity removed by Professor Rose's punctuation"; Slater 1969, s.v. ὀφθαλμός: "locus obscurus."

66. In posing the terms in this way, we are deliberately refusing to choose between "literal" and "figurative" meanings of ὀφθαλμός here. Although attempting to adjudicate this distinction is the first move made by all modern commentators, we want to leave the word suspended here in all its complexity, for this is part of the point—only the progress of the ode itself will clarify all the things that ὀφθαλμός means.

67. Note the recursive relation between Pindar's language and archaeology. Thus, for Gildersleeve (1890: 308), writing before the excavations, Cyrene as a whole is metaphorically "the garden of Aphrodite": "Kyrene, a luxurious place, was famed for its roses, flowers sacred to Aphrodite." But Pindar's phrase then invites the archaeologists excavating Cyrene to find "the garden of Aphrodite" as a real location, and so they do—in the *temenos* of Apollo (they think). For attempts to locate the garden in Cyrene itself see Chamoux 1953: 267–69; Stucchi 1975: 593–95; Ensoli 1996: 95–98.

68. Thus in Pythian 9 the first four lines reproduce most of the terms of the victory announcement, specifying the victor's name, his Pythian victory, his event, and his city; then the myth begins already in line 5, finessed with the usual relative pronoun attached to "Cyrene." Pythian 4 establishes its coordinates with equal

speed, immediately specifying time (σάμερον, 1) and locating us "beside" the victor, Arkesilas, king of Cyrene, in line 2. In line 3, we already have mention of Pytho, which leads us directly into the first, quick rendition of the Pythian oracle to Battos (4–8), bidding him to found the city "on the shimmering breast [of a hill]" (8).

69. See Maslov 2015: 310–15 (with his table 4).

70. For examples of opening conceits see O.6, O.7, I.6; of priamels, O.1, I.7, N.10; of personified abstractions, P.8, N.8, I.5.

71. Cf. Burton 1962: 138: "The example chosen by Pindar to illustrate this sentiment is Arcesilaus himself." Burton does not note that this use of Arkesilas as the illustration of a general statement is doubled, occurring again at the beginning of the first antistrophe (12–15).

72. In addition, the first nineteen lines generate another kind of suspense (which we cannot explore here), about genre—what kind of song is this?—since the epinikian program is markedly underspecified in these lines. We have only "gold-charioted Kastor" in line 9 to gesture toward chariot racing, but lines 10–11 immediately shift via imagery to Kastor as a god who saves from storm at sea. Together with the localization of specific places in Cyrene and Delphi, the poem simultaneously works as a compendium of performance genres, shuttling through or embedding several different genres of song within its scope.

73. For Pindaric parallels for the festive *kōmos* traveling from the site of the games to the victor's home city see O.11 (*kōmos* of Muses), N.1, N.9; for discussion of this as a conventional *topos* of Pindaric epinikion see Slater 1984; Heath 1988; Agócs 2012; chapter 1, pp. 39–40.

74. For the deferral of the myth of Battos cf. Gildersleeve 1890: 306: "After an introduction, then, which has for its theme the power of prosperity paired with honor under the blessing of Fortune, as illustrated by Arkesilas' possession of ancestral dignity and his attainment of the Pythian prize (vv. 1–22), the poet is about to pass to the story of Battos, founder of Kyrene, in whose career are prefigured the fortunes of his race. But Pindar pauses perforce to pay a tribute to Karrhotos, the charioteer, before he tells the legend of Battos, just as in O.8 he pauses perforce after the legend of Aiakos to praise Melesias, the trainer." For analysis of this passage praising Karrhotos see chapter 3, pp. 96–99.

75. On the interweaving of these various journeys and temporal levels see Krummen 1990: 114–15, 120–36; Calame 1990: 307–13, 2003: 79–86; Malkin 1994: 143–49.

76. See O.8.70-84, O.14.20-24, N.4.79-90, N.5.50-54, N.8.44-48 for other examples of this topos, which always occurs late in the ode, after the return from the myth. Modern discussions include Nash 1990: 82–103; Kurke 1991: 62–70 (= 2013b: 55–62); Segal 1998: 133–48.

77. For different interpretations, see already Schol. P.5.129 (2:189 Drachmann); for full discussion of all the different possibilities see Currie 2005: 241–44.

78. For examples of sailing imagery at the end of an ode see O.6.103-5, O.7.94-95, P.4.272-74, 291-94, P.8.98-100, P.10.71-72, N.5.50-52, I.3.18-18b, I.4.72-74.

79. This effect is perhaps reinforced by the preverb ἀπο- of ἀπένεικεν, which is not normally used with φέρω as a verb with "voice" or "sound" as its object. To

give it its proper force, ἀπο- here should mean “bring back the voice” or “render what is due” (see LSJ, s.v. ἀποφέρω).

80. See chapter 1, pp. 43–44, for the “pedimental” structure of Pythian 5, with the significant beginning and end points of Battos’s story disposed in the two internal epodes.

81. Nicholson 2000: 194; cf. Krummen 1990: 101. Admittedly, Pindar uses the plural of the neuter noun πρυμνόν (“lower part, extremity, end”) instead of πρύμνα, the feminine form of the adjective (sc. ναῦς), which designates the “end” of the ship, or the stern. Nonetheless, in the context of explicit mention of ships and sailing, it is hard not to associate πρυμνοῖς with the more familiar nautical term πρύμνα (as Nicholson’s translation attests). For the image, notice also P.4.194, where Pindar seems deliberately, playfully to recall the location of Battos’s tomb for the characterization of Jason as ἀρχὸς ἐν πρύμνᾳ at the momentous beginning of the *Argo*’s voyage. See also Laronde 1987: 171–75, which takes the phrase to mean that the tomb of Battos must have been on the *west* side of the agora—very much a minority opinion.

82. Note also that if the royal palace was indeed on the acropolis, the poem mimes the literal topography of Cyrene in its progression from the “highest steps of [Arkesilas’s] life” to the “lower parts of the agora.”

83. For the reading of the Greek text here, see above, n. 37.

84. On the meaning(s) of σπέρμα see Braswell 1988: 351–52; Calame 1990: 289–90, 2003: 54–55; Nicholson 2000: 199.

85. Cf. O.7.70, Pai. 9, line 1 (beam of the sun); P.4.198 (flash of lightning). Even where ἀκτίς is metaphorical, the image of a powerful beam of light is still present; see P.11.48, I.4.42. Cf. Bowra 1964: 275–76; Spelman 2018: 51–52. So contra Braswell (1988: 352), who is keen to palliate or mute the force of the image, we do not think ἀκτίς should be reduced to something like “splendor.” The proper meaning of ἀκτίς as “ray” or “beam” also requires the modifying genitive ὄλβου; thus, note that in both of the other Pindaric passages where ἀκτίς is used metaphorically (P.11.48, I.4.42) it has a modifying genitive to specify the scope or domain of the image. Braswell (1988: 353) prefers the dative ὄλβῳ as “comitative/instrumental” with δέξατο (so, “a fated day or night received with good fortune the seed of your splendor”), but this is to render this passage less vividly metaphorical, while depriving ἀκτῖνος of the genitive it needs for clarification.

86. For the image of sunrise implicit in ἀκτῖνος and τέλλετο, see Segal 1986: 70–71; Nicholson 2000: 199.

87. Boris Maslov suggests to us that the imagery of this passage in Pythian 4 and the broader interpenetration of the king’s body with the land in Pythians 4 and 5 may owe a debt to Egyptian models and ideologies of divine kingship. Such Egyptian influence on Pindar’s imagery of kingship would then be analogous to the Egyptian influence on the visual representation of the Arkesilas Cup (fig. 6.1), on which see Bresson 2000, and analogous to the appropriation or syncretism by Hellenistic poets of Egyptian ideologies of kingship, for which Stephens (2003) has argued.

Chapter 7. Epigraphy, Architecture, Song: Olympian 6 and Other Gifts

1. We have seven extant epinikia commissioned by Hieron—Pindar O.1, P.1, P.2, P.3; Bacch. 3, 4, 5—as well as poems in several other genres (Pindar frr. 105ab, fr. 125 SM, possibly also fr. 106 SM; Bacch. fr. 20C). On Hieron's tremendous investment in and display of poetic commemoration in different forms see Dougherty 1993: 83–102; K. A. Morgan 2015: 87–132.

2. K. A. Morgan 2015; Nicholson 2016. See also Morrison 2007; Foster 2013, 2017: ch. 5; V. Lewis 2014, 2019b.

3. The foundational work on the history of the Sicilian tyrants is Luraghi 1994. For the most significant work within the recent boom of scholarly interest in Sicilian history and Pindar's Sicilian odes see Antonaccio 2007; Bonanno 2010; Foster 2013, 2017: 108–35; V. Lewis 2014, 2019b; K. A. Morgan 2015; Nicholson 2016.

4. A representative, but by no means exhaustive sample, includes Knapp 2008; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009; Knappett 2011; Malkin 2011; McInerny 2011; Bevan and Lake 2013; Bevan 2013 with Brughmans 2013.

5. The literature on deterritorialization is vast, much of it relentlessly presentist in orientation; any similarity between Deinomenid deterritorialization and that under late capitalism is bound to be superficial. Some basic reference points and review include Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 1987; Gupta and Ferguson 1997a; Malkki 1997; Foucault 2007; Mubi Brighenti 2010.

6. For lists of known athletic victories of the Deinomenids and their henchmen see Bonanno 2010: 185–86; K. A. Morgan 2015: 71. For a superb overview of the dedicatory practices of the Sicilian tyrants at Delphi and Olympia see Harrell 2002.

7. Bacch. 3.17-21, 63-66. Cf. Carson 1984, and see further discussion of this ode below.

8. COLUMN OF GELON AT DELPHI. *Testimonia*: Bacch. 3.17-21, 63-66; Diodorus Siculus 11.26.7; Athenaeus 6.321e–322b (Theopompos, *BNJ* 115 F 193, Phainias of Eresos F 11 Wehrli). *Inscription*: *Syll.*³, no. 34a; Lazzarini 1976: 138; Dubois 1989: 97–98 no. 93; Meiggs and Lewis 1989, no. 28; Jeffery 1990: 266, 275 no. 6; Knoepfler 1992: 19–23; Arena 1998: 121 no. 66; Luraghi 2010: 78, 80; Carbé et al. 2011: 64–65, 99–100; *DNO*, no. 666. *Studies*: Courby 1927: 250–54; Amandry 1987: 81–92; Krumeich 1991; Luraghi 1994: 314–17; Jacquemin 1999, nos. 446–47; Privitera 2003; Adornato 2005; Cummins 2010; Cavaliere 2013: 39–43; Patnaude 2013: 129–32.

COLUMN OF HIERON AT DELPHI. *Testimonia*: Athenaeus 6.321e–322b (Theopompos, *BNJ* 115 F 193; Phainias of Eresos F 11 Wehrli); Plutarch, *Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse* 8.397e (cf. Amandry 1987: 90–92). *Inscription*: *Syll.*³, no. 34c; Courby 1927: 249–50; Meiggs and Lewis 1989, no. 28; Jeffery 1990: 275 no. 8; Arena 1998: 126 no. 69; Adornato 2006: 450–52; Carbé et al. 2011: 65–66. *Studies*: Courby 1927: 250–54; Amandry 1987: 81–92; Krumeich 1991; Jacquemin 1999, nos. 446–47; Privitera 2003; Adornato 2005; Cavaliere 2013: 39–43, 47–48.

OTHER COLUMNS AT DELPHI. *Testimonia*: Schol. P.1.152b (2:6 Drachmann); [Simonides], *Palatine Anthology* 4.214 (= Suda, s.v. δαρετίου). *Studies*: Homolle 1898;

Amandry 1987: 92–97; Krumeich 1991: 56–60; Jacquemin 1999, no. 454; Privitera 2003; Cavaliere 2013: 43–47; K. A. Morgan 2015: 42–45.

SYRACUSAN ("CARTHAGINIAN") TREASURY AT OLYMPIA. *Testimonium*: Paus. 6.19.7. *Studies*: Dörpfeld 1892a, 1892c; Mallwitz 1961, 1972: 169; Rups 1986: 30–32; Luraghi 1994: 317–18; Klein 1998: 364–65.

PORCH OF THE GELOAN TREASURY AT OLYMPIA. *Studies*: see our appendix, below, with Dörpfeld 1881, 1892b; Schleif and Süsserott 1944; Mallwitz 1961: 47, 1972: 176–78, 1999: 214; K. Herrmann 1976: 343–48, 1992: 31–32; Heiden 1995: 27–29 cat. no. 6; Klein 1998: 362n89; Baumeister 2012: 86.

WEAPONS AT OLYMPIA. (a) Helmet, Olympia Museum inv. M 9 (Dubois 1989: 98–99 no. 94b; Luraghi 1994: 354–57; Arena 1998: 123 no. 67b; Baitinger 2001: 243 D 19c; Carbé et al. 2011: 65, 100–101; Siewert and Taeuber 2013: 188–90 no. 156); (b) Helmet, Olympia Museum inv. M 844 (Jeffery 1990: 460; Luraghi 1994: 354–57; Baitinger 2001: 243 D 19b; Carbé et al. 2011: 65, 100–101; Siewert and Taeuber 2013: 189–90 no. 157); (c) Helmet, London, British Museum inv. 1823,0610.1 (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 249; Dubois 1989: 98 no. 94a; Jeffery 1990: 266 no. 7; Luraghi 1994: 354–57; Arena 1998: 122 no. 67a; Carbé et al. 2011: 65, 100–101); (d) Punic cuirasses in the Syracusan treasury (Paus. 6.19.7; Mallwitz 1961).

STATUE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA. *Testimonium*: Paus. 6.19.7. *Study*: Mallwitz 1961.

STATUE OF HIERON AT DELPHI. *Testimonium*: Plutarch, *Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse* 8.397e. *Inscription*: *Syll.*^{3}, 35a; Bourguet 1929: 79–80 no. 136; Arena 1998: 120 no. 65; Ghinatti 2000: 41; Carbé et al. 2011: 64, 99. *Studies*: Pomtow 1909: 177–81; Broc 1963; Amandry 1987: 90–92; Schröder 1990: 160–64; Jacquemin 1999, no. 452; Cavaliere 2013: 48–49; K. A. Morgan 2015: 41.

CHARIOT GROUP OF GELON AT OLYMPIA. *Testimonium*: Paus. 6.9.4-5. *Inscription*: Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 143; Jeffery 1990: 111–12, 113 no. 12, 266, 275 no. 5; Arena 1998: 119 no. 64; Carbé et al. 2011: 63, 98; *DNO*, nos. 516–17. *Studies*: Eckstein 1969: 54–60; Mallwitz 1972: 60–61; Keesling 2017a: 86–87.

CHARIOT GROUP OF HIERON AT OLYMPIA. *Testimonium*: Paus. 6.12.1, 8.42.8-10. *Study*: Rolley 1990.

CHARIOT GROUP DEDICATED BY POLYZALOS AT DELPHI. *Inscription*: Chamoux 1955: 26–31; Pouilloux 1976: 452; *CEG* 397; Jeffery 1990: 266, 275 no. 9; Vatin 1991–92; Dubois 1989: 151–52 no. 133; Arena 1998: 124 no. 68; Carbé et al. 2011: 67, 100. *Studies*: Hampe 1941; Chamoux 1955; Rolley 1990; Jacquemin 1999, no. 449; Rolley 2003; Adornato 2008; Jacquemin and Laroche 2012; Cavaliere 2013: 49–61.

9. PHORMIS: Paus. 5.27.1-3; Eckstein 1969: 44–49; Gallavotti 1978: 26; Demand 1990: 48–49; Luraghi 1994: 291; Krumeich 1997: 185–89; Adornato 2005: 413; Neer 2007: 237; Keesling 2017a: 91–92, 125. LYKORTAS: Paus. 5.27.7-8; Eckstein 1969: 116 n. 6 ("Lykortas ist uns nicht näher bekannt"); Keesling 2017a: 92. PRAXITELES: Furtwängler 1879; Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, nos. 266, 630, 631; Guarducci 1949–51: 104–5, 1964: 151–53; Eckstein 1969: 61–64; Jeffery 1990: 160–61, 211, 267; Luraghi 1994: 161–62, 293; *CEG*, 380 i–iii; Manganaro 1999: 118–19; Barringer 2009: 236–38; Luraghi 2010: 78–79; Carbé et al. 2011: 63–64; Patnaude 2013: 116–28; K. A. Morgan 2015: 53. ASTYLOS: Paus. 6.13.1; Pliny, *Natural History* 34.59; Demand

1990: 48–49; Neer 2007: 237; Keesling 2017a: 84. GLAUKOS: Paus. 6.10.1-3; Rausa 1994: 46–47; K. A. Morgan 2015: 53; Keesling 2017a: 86. Glaukos was, by some late accounts, established as ruler of Kamarina by Gelon (see Schol. Aeschines, *Against Ktesiphon* 189; Luraghi 1994: 158, 275–76; Mafodda 1996: 72–73).

10. Paus. 6.13.1. It should be noted that it is not absolutely certain that Astylos's statue commemorated one of his Syracusan victories. Pausanias says that the athlete won the footrace in three successive Olympiads: the first time as a Krotoniate, the second and third times as a Syracusan. We do not know which victory his statue commemorated (attempts to decide on the basis of its being commissioned from Pythagoras of Rhegion are mere speculation). Since he won two out of three of his victories for Syracuse, and since we know that his first victory was already commemorated with a statue in Kroton, a Syracusan statue is prima facie more likely. Glaukos's statue, on the other hand, was set up by his son; it is presumably posthumous and therefore must postdate his move to Sicily (Paus. 6.10.1-3).

11. On Phormis and Lykortas see Paus. 5.27.1-3. Pausanias implies, but does not actually state, that Lykortas was Arkadian. He certainly bore an Arkadian name: it goes back to a mythic king of Psophis (Paus. 8.24), and a later Lykortas of Megalopolis was the father of the Arkadian historian Polybius. On the Arkadians serving in Sicily see Guarducci 1953; Luraghi 1994: 160–61, 167–68, 291–96.

12. On Chromios see Luraghi 1994: 183, 333–34, 338–40. On Psaumis see Barrett 2007; Nicholson 2011. Although Psaumis's victories postdated the fall of the tyrants, Olympian 4 makes oblique reference to Hieron, and Nicholson (2011) has shown that it reflects the unrest that accompanied the pacification and integration of the old regime's mercenary troops.

13. See, e.g., Luraghi 1997; Hornblower 2004: 183–84.

14. Flower 2008a: 193 (citing Burkert 1992: 42), 2008b: 29, 38–42. Cf. Luraghi 1997: 70.

15. On Arkadians after the fall of the Deinomenids see Manganaro 1974–75 (arguing, on the tenuous evidence of numismatic iconography, that substantial numbers of former Deinomenid mercenaries were resettled in Kamarina).

16. K. A. Morgan 2015: 55–61. Morgan specifically relates this tendency to the monuments at Delphi and Olympia.

17. See Lomas 2006; K. A. Morgan 2015: 55–61.

18. This policy had antecedents in Sicily itself, but the ultimate model may have been Near Eastern: moving populations was a longstanding practice in the great empires of the East. The most famous example nowadays is the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews, but Herodotus cites numerous instances in the Achaemenid period. It is tempting to wonder whether the Deinomenidai might have taken inspiration from the supreme embodiment of temporal power in the world as they knew it: the Great King (K. A. Morgan [2015: 59n110] alludes in passing to this possibility). On Sicily see Demand 1990; Lomas 2006; K. A. Morgan 2015: 55–59. On the Achaemenids see Hdt. 4.204; 5.14-15, 17, 98; 6.20, 119, with Grosso 1958; Penella 1974; Odred 1979; Cohen 1983. On Greek emulation of Persia see M. C. Miller 1997.

19. Foucault 2007: 125, 129. It should be noted that Foucault insisted repeatedly that this configuration of power was alien to the early Greeks and common to what he called "the East." This quasi-orientalist distinction is reductive; moreover, as noted, the Deinomenidai may have been emulating Persian examples.

20. For a useful bibliographic guide to Syracusan epigraphy see Carbé et al. 2011.

21. Pausanias states explicitly that Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν ("Phormis dedicated [this/me]") is a whole line, nonmetrical, but some have speculated that it must be the ending of a partially erased hexameter, since the second line is pentameter and the result would be an elegiac couplet (Eckstein 1969: 116n6; Gallavotti 1978: 26). There do, however, exist one-line dactylic pentameter dedications: e.g., on a statuette dedicated by one Phillo, daughter of Charmylidas, at Posidonia ca. 470 (Berlin 7429; *IG* XIV 664; Friedländer 1948, no. 166; Jeffery 1990: 260 no. 7; Arena 1996, no. 24). For another inscription that pairs the nonmetrical formula "So-and-so ἀνέθηκεν" with a line of verse see a late Archaic dedication at Tegea (*IG* V.2 75; Friedländer 1948, no. 155). Even if Pausanias were mistaken and the first line were, in fact, a fragment of hexameter, the larger point would hold: since Phormis is *Syrakosios*, reference to Mainalos is, strictly speaking, superfluous or even somewhat tactless.

22. Eckstein 1969: 48.

23. In this we follow Jeffery 1990: 160–61. Objections in Guarducci 1964: 151–53 do not address Jeffery's arguments.

24. For the dates see Jeffery 1990: 161; Luraghi 1994: 162.

25. This case differs importantly from the related case of Mikythos son of Choiros, a former servant of Anaxilas of Rhegion, who made multiple dedications at Olympia, identifying himself as hailing from Rhegion, Messina, and Tegea (Paus. 5.26.4-5; Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 267). Mikythos made his dedications late in life, after the fall of the tyrants, when he had settled in Tegea (Luraghi [1994: 224–27] suggests that he may have been Arkadian originally); the multiple ethnics reflect a movement from Sicily to the mainland.

26. For a recent overview of letterforms see Woodard 2010.

27. Luraghi 2010; Patnaude 2013.

28. The inscription on the chariot of Hieron at Olympia (dedicated by his son Deinomenes) also ended with Συρακοσίου (Paus. 8.42.9). On the rendering of the ethnic see Carbé et al. 2011: 71, with further references.

29. On artist's signatures see the recent overview in Dimartino 2010.

30. Jeffery 1990: 266; Meiggs and Lewis 1989: 28. On the relation of Ionic to Sicilian letterforms in the fifth century see Brugnone 1995.

31. Luraghi 2010: 78.

32. In effect, Luraghi takes the variation in alphabet *between* the two inscriptions to be the result of conscious intention, but the variation *within* Bion's inscription itself to be proof of failure. This distinction seems arbitrary. The general thrust of Luraghi's article is to emphasize that the manipulation of epichoric scripts was deliberate, so if we disagree with him on this small point, we do so in the interest of warm agreement on the large one. See Luraghi 2010: 78, 80.

33. See Guarducci 1949–51: 104–5 (Syracusan); Jeffery 1990: 211 (Mantinean; Jeffery also held that Syracuse is "blue" [264], a view that has since fallen from favor); Dimartino 2010: 12 (Syracusan); Luraghi 2010: 79 (agnostic, leaning Arkadian); Carbé et al. 2011: 63–64, 69 (Syracusan); Patnaude 2013: 118 (agnostic). Mantineans in the fifth century sometimes used a distinctive form of *mu*; the Praxiteles base does not do so, but neither did Mantinean coinage, so the evidence is not conclusive (Jeffery 1990: 213). For thorough bibliography see Carbé et al. 2011: 63–64.

34. *DNO*, no. 469.

35. For thorough discussion see Dimartino 2010: 14.

36. See, most recently, Dimartino 2010: 14, with extensive discussion and bibliography.

37. Jeffery went so far as to state that the inscription "corresponds with what we know of the alphabets of Syracuse and Kamarina" (Jeffery 1990: 160). Yet the use of Ξ for /ks/ is not consistent with a Syracusan script: it is a feature of "blue" alphabets, not "red" ones. It does appear on the Polyzalos base associated with the Delphi charioteer—which is probably Geloan or even Phokian. There is also an example from Heloros, some 30 km to the south of Syracuse, ca. 500 BCE, an inscription unusual in other respects as well (Dubois 1989: 106 no. 98; Jeffery 1990: 459 no. 23a; Arena 1998: 131 no. 74, where the anomaly is noted).

38. Patnaude 2013: 119.

39. Note that the phoneme /kh/ does not appear in the Praxiteles inscription at all.

40. On the use of the cruciform sign (+) for /kh/ in Syracusan settlements see Jeffery 1990: 263–64. Evidence for its use as /ks/ in Syracuse comes from the Praxiteles dedication itself (which is not certainly Syracusan in alphabet) and from an epitaph at Syracuse (see n. 42, below).

41. Thoughtlessness is marginally more plausible in the case of the *gamma* than in that of the *chi*. It is possible that the letter cutter blithely used a lunate *gamma* in the first line for *wergon*, committing himself to the "red" form without thinking ahead to the word *Argeios* down at the end of the second line. Such lack of foresight seems much less likely in the case of *chi*, however, which first appears at the beginning of the second line, just three characters away from the beginning of the word *Achaios*.

42. For recent discussions of the Syracusan alphabet see Brugnone 1995; Carbé et al. 2011. In the Syracusan region, evidence for both the "blue," cruciform *chi* (+) and the "red," tridentine one (Ψ) comes only from border areas, so it is difficult to be categorical about whether our letter cutter's choice may have brought the inscription closer to Syracusan script (cf. Jeffery 1990: 263, 264). For a cruciform *chi* in the Syracusan sphere (Akrai) see Jeffery 1990: 275 no. 13. For the tridentine *chi* see Dubois 1989, no. 106 (Akrai); Arena 1992, no. 150 (Comiso, near Kamarina). Note that Akrai exhibits both types! Carbé et al. (2011) strongly associate the cruciform sign (+) with /ks/ at Syracuse, but of the two examples they cite, one is the Praxiteles inscription itself, which may be Arkadian (+ for /ks/ is Arkadian too; cf.

Jeffery 1990: 206–7); the other is the gravestone of one Alexis, dated ca. 500 BCE (Dubois 1989: 94 no. 88; Jeffery 1990: 459 no. 9a; Arena 1998: 128 no. 71).

43. On the interstitial nature of the panhellenic shrines see C. Morgan 1990, 1993; Morris 2000: 185; Snodgrass 2006: 234–58; Neer 2007; Scott 2010.

44. See Luraghi 1997: 79–80 for the poem's clear implication that Hagesias is an Iamid on his father's side; see also Flower 2008a: 200–201, suggesting that Pindar may himself have invented the myth of Iamos (for which O.6 is our earliest source).

45. We are not certain where ancient Phaisana was, but Didymos, citing the authority of Istros, asserted that it was not in Arkadia at all, but in Elis (Schol. O.6, 55a, 1:167 Drachmann [= Istros *FGrH* 334 F 41]). Inspired by this ancient tradition, Wilamowitz (1886: 175–77) proposed that we should identify Phaisana with ancient Phrixa, a town on the disputed borderland between Arkadia and Elis, on the Alpheios a mere 9 km from Olympia; for Phrixa described alternatively as Elean or Arkadian see Hdt. 4.148 and Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 161, respectively (and see figs. 7.8 and 7.9).

46. The scholiast ad loc. (Schol. O.6.148a, 149a [1:186, 188 Drachmann]) identifies Aineas as the *chorodidaskalos*. This is likely to be a speculation based on the poem itself, but even so, it is probable and accepted by most scholars.

47. For the controversy over the precise meaning of συνοικιστῆρ here see esp. Malkin 1987: 93–97; Luraghi 1994: 292–93, 1997: 75–77; Flower 2008a: 193–94; Foster 2013: 283–85, 292–96, 2017: 112–16, 122–26; Adorjáni 2014: 34–35, 126. We agree with Malkin, Luraghi, and Foster that συνοικιστῆρ probably refers to Hagesias's participation in Gelon's "refoundation"/synoikism of Syracuse in 485, as well as gesturing toward his participation as a colonist of Aitna (thus Foster). As for ταμίας, Luraghi and Flower both assume that Hagesias himself would not have held this special honor, but we are agnostic. The precise interpretation of these terms is, however, irrelevant for our argument.

48. Schol. O.6.165 (1:193 Drachmann) reports that "Hagesias was killed when Hieron fell." This account is garbled, since the Deinomenid tyranny endured after the death of Hieron; see Luraghi 1997: 84–85, assessing the historical value of this scholion. For full discussion of the reconstructable historical facts of Hagesias, his ancestry, and his relation to Hieron see Luraghi 1997; cf. Flower 2008a and Foster 2013.

49. The scholiasts seem not to have had any independent information on the actual date of the victory, because winners of the mule-cart race were not included in the lists of Olympic victors. Many scholars offer only 472 BCE or 468 BCE as possible dates for Hagesias's win (e.g., Wilamowitz 1922: 307 [468]; Farnell 1932: 40; Kirkwood 1982: 79; Snell and Maehler 1987 [468]), but see D'Alessio 1995: 156–57; Luraghi 1997: 74–75 (and thus already Gildersleeve 1890: 171).

50. Thus Gildersleeve 1890: 171; Norwood 1945: 127; Ruck 1968: 141; Carne-Ross 1979: 31, 47; Mullen 1982: 26; Adorjáni 2014: 56–66; Stamatopoulou 2014.

51. For performance only at Stymphalos see Wilamowitz 1922: 309; Farnell 1932: 40; Stehle 1997: 160–69. For performance only at Syracuse see Hutchinson 2001: 424 (tentatively); Morrison 2007: 71–79 (more confidently); Calame 2012: 312–

13. Morrison's main argument for performance only, or originally, at Syracuse is that the image of the victory *kōmos* processing from the Greek mainland to the victor's home city occurs also in other odes (e.g., N.1, N.9) and therefore should be taken to be simply an epinikian conceit. On this conceit and the weird temporality it entails for Pindaric epinikion Morrison is following D'Alessio 2004b: 284–92 (289–90 on O.6 specifically). But against the argument of Morrison, Stamatopoulou (2014: 9) notes a crucial difference in Olympian 6: in the other odes where the conceit of the traveling *kōmos* figures, it goes from the site of the games to the victor's home city; only in Olympian 6 is the victory *kōmos* said to travel "from home to home" for a victor who seems to enjoy dual citizenship.

52. Morrison 2007: 75n213.

53. For choral reperformance in general see Currie 2004, 2017; Hubbard 2004: 75–80. For Olympian 6 in particular, the possibility of *choral* reperformance is supported by the observation of Morrison (2007: 108–9) that of all the Sicilian odes, Olympian 6 most resists monodic reperformance, with its ten lines of detailed instructions for the *chorodidaskalos* and chorus in the last triad (O.6.87-96). See also Adorjáni 2014: 63–66, playing out in detail how the different elements of the ode would be interpreted by different audiences in Stymphalos and Syracuse.

54. Hubbard 1992: 79–82, 107–11, 2004: 79–80, citing Diodorus Siculus 11.49.1-2. For the prominence of Arkadians in leadership roles in the Deinomenid regime and as mercenaries see Guarducci 1953; Manganaro 1974–75: 37–39; Luraghi 1994: 161–76, 183–85, 288–304, 335–54, 368–73; Bonanno 2010: 136; Nicholson 2011: 99, and see discussion of dedications above. Diodorus Siculus 11.72.3 informs us that there was already a large non-Sicilian, possibly Peloponnesian, contingent of mercenaries settled by Gelon in Syracuse itself ("more than 10,000"), whom the Syracusans voted to disenfranchise after the fall of Thrasyboulos, the last of the Deinomenid tyrants.

55. Cf. Hubbard 2004: 79–80, discussing Nemean 9: "Chromius' entry of a chariot team in this minor local festival [the Sikyonian Pythia] and his decision to embellish it with an epinician ode by Pindar, who normally wrote to celebrate victories only in the four major games, may . . . have been related to his and Hieron's program of recruiting Peloponnesian Dorians to form half the population of the new Syracusan colony. The possibility of this poem's reperformance in a variety of Peloponnesian locales raises the question whether other odes for Hieron and his lieutenants might also have been performed by a roving troupe of Syracusan choristers, not unlike Thespis' theater company (Horace, *AP* 275–77) or the itinerant band of Stesichorean performers proposed by Burkert. The pan-Dorian content of *P.*1 and the appeal to Arkadian connections of *O.*6 make them attractive candidates in such a foreign repertoire."

56. Note that this quoted utterance comes almost in the exact center of the ode, or, in Mullen's terms, in its central/innermost epode, where Pindar often places the most significant or climactic moment of the myth, especially a moment of divine grace (and often direct speech). For the pattern in general see Mullen 1982: 100–111; for Olympian 6 in particular, 102–3.

57. The only exception we have found to this scholarly silence on δεῦρο is Bonifazi 2001: 45, 125; see further discussion below.

58. That this is the only direct speech within the myth is noted by Bonifazi (2001: 126n79).

59. Cf. N.11.35 and O.8.51; see also Pindar's uses of δεῦτε (essentially the plural of δεῦρο) in fr. 122, line 17, and fr. 75, line 1. This claim for Olympian 8 is somewhat controversial because δεῦρο at O.8.51 (which almost certainly refers to Aegina as the place of the poem's performance) co-occurs with indications in the first triad of Olympian 8 of performance at Olympia itself (cf. O.8.9-10). Here, we would contend, we have a situation very similar to that for which Athanassaki 2004 argues for Olympian 1: Pindar seems deliberately to have embedded multiple contradictory indicators of different places of performance within a single ode, anticipating (in Athanassaki's argument) every possible context of reperformance (cf. Athanassaki 2011a: 260–65; discussion in chapter 1, p. 36). We would argue for precisely the same phenomenon in Olympian 6. For such overloading of contradictory performance cues within a single ode, Athanassaki follows Nagy 1994–95: 19, 22–25.

60. Thus note that the very last line of the myth, Ζηνὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀκροτάτῳ βωμῷ τότ᾽ αὖ χρηστήριον θέσθαι κέλευσεν ("And bid him in turn to establish an oracle on the highest altar of Zeus," O.6.70) brings us back to the opening praise of Hagesias as "steward at the mantic altar of Zeus in Pisa" (O.6.5).

61. See Hubbard 2004: 75–80, building on Herington 1985: 207–10 and Rutherford 2001: 175–78. Cf. Athanassaki 2004; Currie 2004: 63, 2011: 301–8. So for Olympian 6 in particular, if Hagesias won his victory in 476, we might imagine performance at the Olympic games in 472; or if he won in 472, performance at Olympia in 468.

62. Bonifazi 2001: 45, 125.

63. Stamatopoulou 2014: 12, citing Nünlist 1998: 103–4.

64. For different architectural possibilities see, e.g., Gildersleeve 1890: 173 (house); Carne-Ross 1979: 30 (treasury); Kirkwood 1982: 85 (palace); Froidefond 1989: 36 (treasury); Goldhill 1991: 146–47 (palace hall; bedroom or inner chamber); Hutchinson 2001: 376 (house); Loscalzo 2003: 126–27 (θαλάμου as synecdoche for house); Adorjáni 2014: 120–21 (θαλάμου *pars pro toto* for a house; also a treasury). For the image of a treasury see also Neer 2002a, followed by Foster 2013: 311–13, 2017: 129–30.

65. For the vagueness of the architectural imagery of the opening see Bonifazi 2001: 104–12 and K. A. Morgan 2015: 402–4.

66. K. A. Morgan 2015: 403. Morgan herself suggests association with (1) the façade of Hagesias's house in Syracuse; (2) the façade of Hieron's palace, presumably on Ortygia; or even (3) a Syracusan ritual described by Athenaeus (11.462b), whereby a ship would sail away from Syracuse until the shield in the pediment of the temple of Athena could no longer be seen (K. A. Morgan 2015: 403–4). We welcome this set of additional associations, especially the last. After all, this temple was built as a pair with the "victory temple" at Himera shortly after 480, so more

or less contemporary with the Syracusan treasury and the Geloan porch in our argument, whereas the simultaneous identification of the façade with the temple at Syracuse *and* the treasury at Olympia enacts precisely the kind of merging or fusing of places we consider a pervasive strategy of Olympian 6.

67. Hutchinson 2001: 376. Indeed, Hutchinson even proposes emending Pindar's text to read θαλάμων.

68. Griffin 1982: 102–6; Hölscher 2001: 146. In Homer, *thalamos* can designate variously a bedroom and a treasury: Priam has one that is "fragrant and of cedar, and high-ceilinged, with many bright treasures inside it" (αὐτὸς δ’ ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηώεντα | κέδρινον ὑψόροφον, ὃς γλήνεα πολλὰ κεχάνδει, *Il.* 24.191-92; cf. *Il.* 6.288, *Od.* 2.337, 6.74, 8.439, 15.99, 19.256, 21.42).

69. On the treasury terrace at Olympia see Mallwitz 1972: 163–79; K. Herrmann 1976, 1992; Schilbach 1984; Scott 2010: 163–69; Baumeister 2012. On treasuries at Delphi see Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990; Partida 2000. On treasuries in general see Dinsmoor 1912; Rups 1986; Hölscher 2001; Neer 2001, 2004, 2007: 221–51.

70. Cf. Foster 2013: 312n82 for the same point in response to Hutchinson.

71. For the identification of the treasury see Paus. 6.19.17. On the treasury of Gela the basic publications are Dörpfeld 1881, 1892b; Schleif and Süsserott 1944; Mallwitz 1972: 176–78; K. Herrmann 1976: 343–48, 1992: 31–32. See also Mertens 2006: 113; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 661.

72. After the initial publications in Dörpfeld 1881 and 1892b, the essential publication for the roof is Schleif and Süsserott 1944. See also Darsow 1938: 105–6; Kästner 1976: 520–22; Wikander 1986: 19, 50 no. 80; Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990: 238–39; Klein 1998: 362–64; Lang 2010: 67–72. The pertinence of the roof to the foundation is assured by an exact match in dimension: Dörpfeld 1881: 31–32; Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 85–86; Heiden 1995: 100–101.

73. The date of this phase remains controversial—proposals range from ca. 570 BCE (Mallwitz) to ca. 550 BCE (Heiden) to ca. 540-530 BCE (Mertens-Horn), to the later sixth century (Darsow)—but it clearly predates the Deinomenid rise to power. Darsow 1938: 105–6; Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990: 238–39; Heiden 1995: 96–102, 203–8; Mallwitz 1999: 219. Cf. Wikander 1986.

74. Although disputed in Schleif and Süsserot 1944: 85, the 90-degree reorientation has been reaffirmed by Herrmann 1992: 31.

75. Paus. 6.19.7. See Dörpfeld 1892a, 1892c; Mallwitz 1961, 1972: 169; Rups 1986: 30–32; Klein 1998: 364–65; Mertens 2006: 273–74; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 659.

76. For general treatments of treasuries, see above, n. 69.

77. Cf. Roux 1984: 155.

78. This paragraph adapts Neer 2007: 240–41.

79. On the ideological functions of treasuries see Neer 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007; cf. Foster 2013: 312–13, 2017: 130.

80. For the material of the treasury of Gela see Lang 2010: 67–72; for that of the treasury of Siphnos see Daux and Hansen 1987: 26–32; for that of the treasury of Caere see Bommelaer 1991: 231.

81. As Margaret Foster puts it, “A treasury, that is, has the unique capacity to be in two places at once. It is physically located in a distant sanctuary, but it also (symbolically) transports the votives that enter it back to the home polis” (Foster 2017: 130; cf. Neer 2001: 284). The metonymic resonance of native soil is perhaps most obvious in the Persian custom of demanding earth and water from subject peoples; although the relation of a polis to a panhellenic shrine was of course very different, the conceit whereby a token of earth can evoke an entire *chōra* is quite similar. For a Pindaric parallel cf. the talismanic clod of earth (βῶλαξ) in Pythian 4.

82. On architectural “frames” for sculpture see Montel 2008.

83. For many scholars and commentators, Pindar’s specific terms of praise for Hagesias represent the “columns” of the opening porch of song (although there is much disagreement about whether the poet intends three or four columns); thus, e.g., Mezger 1880: 125; Gildersleeve 1890: 173; Luraghi 1997: 74; Erbse 1999: 16. But against this interpretation, see Adorjáni 2014: 119–20. We consider it an argument against this elaborate mapping of terms that scholars cannot agree whether there are three or four columns; we understand the first praise of the victor instead to constitute the entire porch for Pindar’s edifice of song.

84. O.6.7 then functions as a kind of co-opting poetic syllogism (if amid “desirable songs,” then the “citizens” must be “ungrudging”) or, alternatively, as a kind of cause and effect (it is the “desirable songs” themselves that make the citizens ungrudging). In addition, τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον κεῖνος ἀνήρ (6–7) contributes to this framing or constraining effect, whereby Hagesias is literally caught in the nexus of public roles and public approval that Pindar has constructed for him.

85. Cf. K. A. Morgan 2015: 401–2, 405–8, on the presence of Hieron in the background of Olympian 6. Friis Johansen (1973: 2) denies any possible association of the Amphiaraos-Adrastos dyad to Hagesias and Hieron, while Luraghi (1997: 83–85) is cautious and skeptical, but ultimately accepts that there is a possible connection. See also Foster 2013, 2017: 108-35, deftly charting Pindar’s strategies for defusing the potential threat to Hieron represented by the talismanic power of Hagesias as seer.

86. Cf. Adorjáni 2014: 299–300 and K. A. Morgan 2015: 402, 406–8, rejecting the alternative interpretations of O.6.96-99 of Friis Johansen 1973: 3–6 and Hutchinson 2001: 419–21; see discussion in chapter 8, below.

87. Indeed, in this respect we might read as symptomatic the slip of K. A. Morgan (2015: 395, 399), who takes οὔτε δύσηρις ἐὼν οὔτ’ ὦν φιλόνικος ἄγαν (19) as third-person, referring to Hagesias. Cf. also Carne-Ross 1979: 31–34, emphasizing the theme of fitting praise or praise to fit.

88. This effect of a poetic heirloom is enhanced if, as Wilamowitz (1922: 310) and Farnell (1932: 42–43) suggested, Adrastos’s ἔπος represents a near quotation of a hexameter line from the epic *Thebaid*. Thanks to Margaret Foster for this point.

89. For ἐπιτρέπω to mean “entrust” requires an accusative of the thing entrusted and a dative of the person to whom it is entrusted (LSJ, s.v. ἐπιτρέπω 3). The accusative is provided by τό (17), resumed by τοῦτο (20); as for the dative of the person entrusted, note that the scholiasts in their paraphrases of this line consistently

supply μοι (εὔχομαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τὰς Μούσας καὶ συνεργῆσαι, Schol. O.6.32a, 32c [1:161 Drachmann]).

Most commentators and translators blunt the semantic force of ἐπιτρέψοντι because they do not connect the meaning of this verb with the overarching architectural conceit of the first triad. Thus Gildersleeve 1890: 175 glosses it "= συμφωνήσουσι . . . , 'will approve,' 'shall not say me nay' "; Slater 1969, s.v. ἐπιτρέπω, "approve, allow"; Race 1997, 1:105, "and the honey-voiced Muses will assist." All these translations in fact follow the scholiasts, who, clearly puzzled by ἐπιτρέψοντι, gloss it with the bland συνεργῆσαι (cited above). For a significant exception to this treatment of the verb, see Ruck 1968: 138: "The phrase Adrastos had coined for the prophet-hero is now a poetic formula; it is part of Pindar's σοφία to know the phrase and to apply it to the present. Once he has witnessed to its appropriateness, the new application of the phrase now itself becomes a treasure of knowledge and passes into the keeping of the Muses"; cf. Maslov 2015: 223–24, also noting that ἐπιτρέψοντι must mean "entrust" and connecting it with the theme of the ego as witness (although for Maslov, the ego here is choral).

90. Kirkwood 1982: 80.

91. Greengard 1980: 80–81; cf. D'Alessio 1995: 147.

92. Note that the first triad provides the victor's name, patronymic, ethnic (Syracusan), and site of the games; all that is missing is the event (which is only specified at the beginning of the second triad). But for a similar omission of the specific event, cf. O.12 (which specifies a footrace but not which one), and O.14 (no event specified).

93. Gelzer 1985, but see the skepticism of Eckerman 2011, 2012 on Gelzer's Μοῦσ' αὐθιγενής hypothesis. Even without Gelzer's notion of composition and performance "on the spot" at the games (which Eckerman rightly considers unrealistic in terms of the extremely limited time windows involved), many scholars have now endorsed the idea of later reperformance at the site of the games. For this, see Loscalzo 2003: 115–18; Currie 2004: 63, 2011: 307–8; Hubbard 2004: 75–80; Morrison 2007: 11–19; Eckerman 2012: 358–59.

94. This issue of scale is, of course, relevant for treasuries, which are temple-like buildings constructed on a small scale.

95. Within these general terms of comparison, we might note even more specific semantic and structural correspondences between Praxiteles's epigram and Hagesias's ode: (1) πρόσθα <δ>έ in line 2 of the inscription is equivalent to the ego's declaration at the beginning of the poem's second triad that he must come "to the very race of men" (πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γένος, 24–25); (2) the epigram's implication of noble descent for Praxiteles (*h*εσλὸς ἐόν and ἀρετᾶς in line 4) is analogous to Pindar's elaboration of the hereditary distinction of Hagesias's family on both his father's and mother's sides (29–81).

96. On this up-and-down motion within the myth see Stern 1970: 335–39; Nash 1975: 113–14; Carne-Ross 1979: 38, 48–49; Goldhill 1991: 156–57.

97. Cf. Froidefond 1989: 36; Eckerman 2013: 16 (oddly referring to this as a "pun"); K. A. Morgan 2015: 402–3, stating that "the image here is no idle one. On the site

where in a later age a row of treasuries will celebrate the piety of Greek cities (including Syracuse and Gela), Apollo sets a metaphorical treasury that looks back to the porch of the opening, a treasury of prophecy that supports the achievement of the entire family." Morgan does not note the perfect sequential mapping of the Kronion hill, the line of treasuries (including two Sicilian ones), the early Classical stadium, and the altar of Zeus. For the meaning of ἀλίβατον here, see Nash 1975.

98. For the location of the early Classical stadium track within the Altis, 74 m further west than its mid-fifth-century successor, see Mallwitz 1967, 1988: 94–95; Scott 2010: 187–89.

99. See Paus. 5.13.8; Mallwitz 1988: 92; Etienne 1992: 292–94; Kyrieleis 2006: 47–55.

100. The key source is Xenophon, *History of Greece* 7.4.29-31. On the location of the *theatron* see Koenigs 1981: 367–68 and plate 40; Schilbach 1992: 35; Sinn 2000: 66, 2001: 67–68; Barringer 2009: 238–39.

101. See Stamatopoulou 2014: 12–13 for the high visibility of the opening image (which Stamatopoulou connects with the reperformance of the poem). For the ideological need to frame and contain the talismanic power of the seer within the ambit of Deinomenid (state) power see Foster 2013, 2017: 108–35.

Chapter 8. Pindar's Transports

1. See Sartre 1956: 279, 308, 321–28; Janni 1984: 79–158, cited in chapter 1, above, for the concept of hodological space.

2. See Diodorus Siculus 11.49.1-2, and for the relevance of this colonial strategy to Olympian 6 cf. Foster 2013: 305–17, 2017: 126–28; K. A. Morgan 2015: 404–5.

3. Foster 2013, 2017: 108–35.

4. On this collusion of the Delphic oracle and civic deliberation as a characteristic feature of Greek (and esp. Herodotean) oracular narratives see Parker 1985; Vernant 1991: 303–17; Maurizio 1997; Kurke 2009.

5. Another example of the linkage of discontinuous places through the mythic connection of divinities associated with bodies of water is the tradition of Alpheios and the nymph Arethusa, which linked Ortygia/Syracuse to the Peloponnese. On these traditions and their prominence in Pindar's Sicilian odes see Foster 2013: 314–17, 2017: 132–35; V. Lewis 2014, 2019b.

6. For connections via cult and theoric/pilgrimage routes, see, e.g., Giovannini 1969; Rutherford 2004, 2013; Kowalzig 2005, 2007b: 56–128, 154–60.

7. Thus Silk 1974: 170–71; Carne-Ross 1979: 34–36, 41–42; Goldhill 1991: 150–51; D'Alessio 1995: 146–47; Bonifazi 2001: 110–11, 117–21; Calame 2012: 307–14. See also Garner 1992, arguing for resonances of mystery cult here ("pure road") and D'Alessio 1995: 143–67, identifying in Pindar's lines a deliberate intertextual echo of the opening lines of Parmenides's hexameter poem describing his metaphysical journey.

8. This use of the pronoun is noted already by Gildersleeve 1890: 175; cf. Carne-Ross 1979: 35–36 for the effect: "Pindar's geography is however unlike ours, for

when he reaches his destination he comes not to a place but to a person. Pitana *which* is situated by the Eurotas turns into Pitana *who* at the beginning of things lay with a god. Look at the transformation, the familiar turn on the relative pronoun. . . . A familiar device, yes, but nothing in Pindar is really familiar. What sort of landscape is it where a town turns into a girl? We may call her an 'eponymous nymph' but that doesn't take us very far since no one knows what ontological status to attribute to such a personage. It may be that our critical signposts serve mainly to disguise the radical strangeness of Pindar's world."

9. For interpretation of the vexed lines 82–83 we follow Ruck 1968: 132–42; Carne-Ross 1979: 44–46. Note that τᾶς (85) functions just like ἅ (29), to finesse between local nymph and place/body of water. At the same time, as D'Alessio (2004b: 289–90) argues, πίομαι must be a future tense, so that the poem here shifts temporality to a moment when the poet is contemplating his own composition as a future event.

10. Schol. O.6.148a, 149a (1:186, 188 Drachmann); see Chapter 7, n. 46, above.

11. Luraghi 1997: 83–85, followed by K. A. Morgan 2015: 406–7, rightly emphasizes how aberrant this move is for epinikion (Luraghi contrasts the prominence of Thorax in P.10 as the adult who commissioned the victory ode for the boy victor Hippokleas).

12. On the basis of these lines, Calame (2012: 312) suggests that the performance of Olympian 6 might have taken place at the festival of Demeter and Persephone in Syracuse. This seems tendentious, given the long list of cults in these lines; in fact, if it were the case, one might expect to have a demonstrative like τάνδε ἑορτάν here.

13. For examples of this motif of the reception of the victor (and at times his *kōmos*) in Pindar (with the divinities/powers addressed in parentheses) see O.4.9 (Zeus Aitnaios); O.5.3 (Kamarina); O.8.10 ("grove of Pisa"); P.8.19 (Apollo in Delphi); P.9.73 (Cyrene); N.4.11 (Aegina); N.11.3 (Hestia in the prytaneion of Tenedos). The closest parallel for Hieron's exceptional role "receiving the *kōmos*" is P.5.22, where Arkesilas, king of Cyrene, is said to be "blessed also now because, having already taken a boast from the glorious Pythian games with horses, you received this *kōmos* of men, a plaything of Apollo."

14. Friis Johansen 1973: 3–6; Hutchinson 2001: 419–21.

15. Contra Friis Johansen on Ortygia as subject of all these statements: ὄλβος is never otherwise an attribute of *places* in Pindar's epinikia. In contrast to the adjective ὄλβιος (which can be applied to places), ὄλβος is only an attribute of humans or divinities (28 times in the epinikia, including this instance in O.6). Contra Hutchinson: as K. A. Morgan (2015: 407) nicely formulates it, "Time plays many roles in Pindaric epinician, but it is hard to see receiving the *kōmos* as one of them." In fact, this would be unparalleled in Pindar (or anywhere in Greek). For further arguments for νιν as Hieron see Adorjáni 2014: 299–300.

16. Note that the scholia uniformly take μιν/νιν as Hieron and understand him to be the subject of the optative δέξαιτο (see Schol. O.6.162e, 163c, 165, 166 [1:192-93 Drachmann]). For Hieron as a place cf. the section title of K. A. Morgan 2015: 405: "Hieron in (and as) Syracuse."

17. Athanassaki 2004: 335.

18. Athanassaki 2004: 335–36.

19. For the marked colonial theme here see Athanassaki 2003: 121–22.

20. Gerber (1982: 145–46) argues that the genitive dependent on κλέος is deliberately ambiguous here—is it τᾶν ’Ολυμπιάδων or Πέλοπος?—but that an audience hearing this sentence in context is more likely to understand κλέος . . . Πέλοπος together.

21. As K. A. Morgan (2015: 353) notes, we never get any mention of specific Sicilian cities—Syracuse or Aitna—in this ode; Hieron is simply associated here at the outset with all of Sicily through the cult of Demeter and Persephone.

22. In fact, this is more complicated still, since only with ἀγυιαί at line 16 can we be sure we are not still at Olympia. In addition, there is a strange merging or blurring of voice in these lines, since line 9 seems to open a quotation, offering the actual words of the crowd at Olympia exclaiming a *makarismos* for Hieron, but then it is unclear where this quotation ends. See D. L. Cairns 2010: 198–200 for good discussion of this effect; he suggests that the crowd’s *makarismos* only subtly and imperceptibly morphs into the poet’s song in the course of lines 10–22.

23. For commentators’ assumption that lines 15–16 refer to Syracuse see Jebb 1905: 255; Maehler 1982: 38, 45, 2004: 84, 89; Currie 2005: 386; D. L. Cairns 2010: 201. Against this see K. A. Morgan 2015: 354–55: “When the talk is of countless festivals in the sanctuaries of the gods and of Hieron’s hospitality, we are doubtless to assume that these festivities are taking place in Syracuse (as many commentators instruct us). Yet because the name of the city of Syracuse has been carefully omitted from the ode so far, and because of the indeterminacy of the acclaiming voice, we are also encouraged to generalize the celebration.”

24. On these effects cf. Burnett 1985: 68; D. L. Cairns 2010: 199–201.

25. Cummins (2010: 15–16) notes the complete elision of Gelon from Bacchylides’s reference to the glittering golden tripods dedicated at Delphi.

26. Stamatopoulou (2014: 12) emphasizes this element of visibility from a long distance in the poem’s opening image; see the quotation in chapter 7, p. 241. With πρόσωπον . . . τηλαυγές we might compare N.3.64 (quoted in chapter 3, p. 119).

27. Can we connect this with the particulars of the mini-myth that follows the architectural conceit in the poem’s first triad, whereby “the eye” (ὀφθαλμός), the seer Amphiaraos, suddenly disappears underground, swallowed by the earth?

28. Even so, notice that when the god responds, it is only as voice (in contrast to the very similar epiphany scene in O.1.73-74, where Poseidon “appears for him [Pelops], right beside his foot.”). Note also that Apollo’s synoptic vision in Olympian 6 has nothing to do with heights, since he is identified with Delos (itself not a high place).

29. For φοινικόκροκον as “yellow and purple” see Carne-Ross 1979: 37–38; for scholarly admiration for the dazzling color effects of Olympian 6 see Gildersleeve 1890: 172, 176–77; Stern 1970; Carne-Ross 1979; Goldhill 1991: 153–55; Irwin 1996.

30. For "tactile viewing" or the "tactile eye" see Barker 2009; for the reference, and for discussion of this point generally, we thank Mario Telò.

31. Scholars have frequently noted that this is the very lowest point in a poem preoccupied with up-and-down motion (baby on the ground): thus Stern 1970: 335–40; Nash 1975: 113–16; Carne-Ross 1979: 38–39; Goldhill 1991: 154–57. All these scholars assimilate this low point to an initiatory narrative, since Iamos ascends from here (and from the Alpheios at night) to the sunny heights of the Kronion hill; they have not, however, observed how consistently Pindar marks this as a non-place.

32. For the former (as a by-form of epic ἀπειρέσιος), see LSJ, s.v. ἀπείριτος, followed by Race 1997: 1:109; Hutchinson 2001: 399. For the latter, Schulze 1892: 116n3; Chantraine 1968–80, s.v. ἀπείριτος, followed by Slater 1969, s.v. ἀπείριτος.

33. Given the way the narrative stalls here, Gildersleeve's translation "boundless brake" is irresistible for the unintended pun. For scholars ready to supply the missing sequence to the myth ("and then they found the baby," vel sim.), see, e.g., K. A. Morgan 2015: 399 ("After a search the child was found in the thicket surrounded by violets"). Better is Goldhill 1991: 153–56, emphasizing the narrative's gaps and underspecifications.

34. Pindar's light effects here, then, are more akin to Gell's "technology of enchantment," the complex patterns that bind us and fix us in place; for discussion see Gell 1992, 1998: 74–95. The other strange aspect of Pindar's "boundless brake" that makes it like a black hole in the middle of the poem, threatening to suck in the whole narrative, is that there seems to be no character within the myth to observe the extraordinary display of this flower-light show. For the poet has told us emphatically that Evadne "though grieved, had to leave the baby on the ground" (44–45)—so who is observing here? The viewing subjectivity is mysteriously, retroactively made into the mother at 56 (with the moment of her naming Iamos). In this sense, this part of the poem is like the "Time Passes" section of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*—an elaborate set of visual effects with no subject to view them.

35. Carne-Ross (1979: 39, 54) and Goldhill (1991: 155) note the dramatic enjambment of this phrase.

36. For empyromancy at the altar of Zeus at Olympia see O.8.1-7. For the reading of cracks in the burnt skins of sacrificial offerings see Schol. O.6.111c, 111d (1:179 Drachmann), with Parke 1967: 184–85; Flower 2008a: 193.

37. Flower 2008a: 193; cf. Luraghi 1997: 71–72.

38. Since the scholia, scholars have debated the precise meaning of a "voice ignorant of lies"—does this mean hearing the voice of the gods, or understanding the voice of birds? (Schol. O.6.113a [1:179 Drachmann] offers both possibilities). Although it makes no difference to the argument presented here, we are inclined to agree with Hutchinson (2001: 404–5) and Flower (2008a: 193) that the Iamids hear the voice of Apollo. Cf. Dickson 1990 on voice as the generally privileged means of communicating oracular truth in Pindar's poetry and Maslov 2015: 188–201 on Pindar's archaizing preference for heroic-style intuitive divination.

39. For *skutalē* meaning a staff or club see Diodorus Siculus 3.8; *Palatine Anthology* 9.237 (Herodotus uses σκυταλίς and σκύταλον in this meaning, 3.137, 4.60.2); for a snake see Nikander, *Theriaka* 384; for a fish, Oppian, *Halieutika* 1.184; for a fingerbone, Paul of Aegina 6.43 and Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 9.126. See also LSJ, s.v. σκυτάλη.

40. Thus Plutarch, *Life of Lysander* 19; Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 17.9.15; cf. Schol. O.6.154b, d (1:189-90 Drachmann). Note one slight difference between these two: for Aulus Gellius the tape is made not of leather, but of papyrus.

41. Leopold 1900; cf. Jeffery 1990: 57–58 (cautiously skeptical); Kelly 1985, 1998; S. West 1988. Adorjáni (2014: 285–88) accepts this skeptical position on the *skutalē* in his commentary on O.6.91.

42. For the *skutalē* associated with writing see Diodorus Siculus 13.106.9 (presumably based on Ephoros); Dioskourides *FGrH* 594 F 5; Aristotle fr. 509 Rose (the latter two in Photius, s.v. σκυτάλη); cf. also Hesychius, s.v. σκυτάλη Λακωνική (3.318 Hansen, where there is in fact no mention of *coded* messages); for the *skutalē*, leather, and writing all together, see Achaios of Eretria fr. 19, lines 3–4 *TrGF* in Athenaeus 10.451d (if we can accept Athenaeus's claim that Achaios is using the obscure word κύρβις riddlingly for σκυτάλη).

43. Jeffery 1990: 57–58, mainly followed and elaborated by Kelly 1985, 1998 (for whom the *skutalē* is a writing system but not a code system). Starting from Archilochos fr. 185 W, S. West 1988 offers a much more radical reconstruction based entirely on comparative evidence from other largely oral cultures and their use of notched or scored message sticks. We acknowledge that it is very difficult to know what is going on with Archilochos fr. 185 W, but we find West's reconstruction too extreme and too speculative for the fifth- and fourth-century uses of the term. For a recent argument interpreting Archilochos's ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη to mean "sounding or speaking message stick" see Pappas 2014.

44. We assume that the side of the leather with the written message faced inside (toward the stick) so that the writing would not rub off in transit. If that was the case, one would have had to unwind the leather to read the message.

45. So Hutchinson 2001: 424–25 treats χρυσαλακάτοιο as an ornate "extension of epic language," an epithet that Pindar can use of "any female divinity." Cf. Maehler 1982: 219 (on Bacch. 11.38); Adorjáni 2014: 315–16, asserting that the second element of the compound really has no meaning beyond being an "allgemein 'weibliches' Attribut" (Maehler), so that the real semantic force of this epithet is simply "golden."

46. Carne-Ross 1979: 30, 49–50.

47. ἠλακάτη is properly the "distaff," in contrast to ἄτρακτος, which designates the entire apparatus of the spindle. ἄτρακτος, however, first occurs in Herodotus (4.34, 162, 5.12), Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1348), and Plato (*Statesman* 281e, etc.). In earlier poetry as well as in later sources, ἠλακάτη can designate both the distaff and the rod or shaft of the spindle (see Blümner [1912] 1969: 122–25; Chantraine 1968–80, s.v. ἠλακάτη, both citing Plato, *Republic* 616c). We would note that χρυσηλάκατος is more likely to designate a "golden *spindle*" than a "golden distaff," since the dis-

taff is normally made of light material (reed or cane), while ancient spindles were often made of heavier materials like bronze, silver, ivory, or bone; in one case, we even have preserved a spindle of cypress wood covered with a thin layer of gold (see Blümner [1912] 1969: 124n7). This weight differential is appropriate for the different functions of the two objects, since the distaff has to be held aloft (usually in the left hand), while the spindle is suspended from the thread as the thread is spun and drawn out, and weighted at the bottom (see Blümner [1912] 1969: 120–34).

48. For circles and spirals in Olympian 6 see esp. Carne-Ross 1979: 30, 41–42; Calame 2012: 307–14. For circles and lines as significant geometric figures in other choral poetry see A. Hardie 2000: 25–29; Steiner 2011. For related images opening and closing a poem, but with a dramatic shift in scale or grandeur, cf. Pythian 6, with its development from the opening "treasure house of hymns" to the closing "fretted work of bees" (μελισσᾶν . . . τρητὸν πόνον, P.6.54).

49. We have chosen the term "transport" for its range of associations: (1) concrete or material, whereby "technologies of transport" are objects or vehicles that enable transit through space or along pathways; (2) metaphorical, of altered states of consciousness, as of poetic or prophetic trance; (3) specifically to evoke Nancy Felson's resonant phrase "vicarious transport," which for her designates the effect of Pindaric myth through presentifying deictics (see Felson 1999, 2004a, 2004b).

50. On dualities or twos in Olympian 6 see Gildersleeve 1890: 171–72; Norwood 1945: 127–29 (which sees twos as the organizing motif of the entire ode); Carne-Ross 1979; Kirkwood 1982: 80; Froidefond 1989: 32–36; Goldhill 1991: 152–65.

51. K. A. Morgan (2015: 407) gestures toward this connection: "Hieron's rule is characterized sacrally. He manages a city 'with pure sceptre,' thinks perfect thoughts, and celebrates religious festivals; a local audience would remember that he was a hereditary priest of the rites of Demeter and Persephone."

52. On the identification of Herodotus's "chthonic gods" with Demeter and Persephone see R. van Compernolle 1957. For discussion of this incident as narrated by Herodotus see Luraghi 1994: 120–25.

53. See Luraghi 1994: 286–87; K. A. Morgan 2015: 29; V. Lewis 2019a. Cf. Luraghi 1994: 124–25, making the argument in the other direction as well: that Herodotus's account of Telines's feat was shaped and influenced by Gelon's later success leading the Gamoroi back to Syracuse.

54. Diodorus Siculus (11.26.7) reports that Gelon built "notable temples of Demeter and Kore [in Syracuse] from the spoils of Himera"; cf. Cicero, *Against Verres* 4.53.119. In addition, Schol. O.6.158a, c, 160d (1:191-92 Drachmann), citing Didymos, Philistos, and Timaios, affirm that Hieron was hierophant of Demeter and Persephone (presumably having inherited the priesthood on the death of Gelon in 478/77, when he also became master of Syracuse). On the basis of this ancient evidence, several modern scholars assume that Gelon brought his family's Demeter-Persephone cult to Syracuse. Thus R. van Compernolle 1957: 475–76; D. White 1964: 264–65; K. A. Morgan 2015: 83–84 (more qualified). Luraghi (2011: 41) is skeptical of such a transfer of the priesthood; yet it would seem to follow from the way that Gelon's "leading back" of the Gamoroi to Syracuse reenacts Telines's original "leading back"

of a faction to Gela in Herodotus's narrative. Note also Hdt. 7.156.1: "When [Gelon] got possession of Syracuse, while still ruling over Gela, he considered it of less account, having turned it over to his brother Hieron, and he ruled Syracuse and Syracuse was everything to him."

55. Cf. fr. 105a SM, quoted and discussed below. Note the possibility of the same pun at Bacch. 3.15, quoted above, p. 263.

56. The scholia to Pythian 2 claim that Pindar sent it as an add-on or bonus together with that poem (Schol. P.2.127 [2:52 Drachmann]). Even if we believe this, Pythian 2 has no secure date; nonetheless, the reference in fr. 105a to Hieron as founder of Aitna means that the poem must date between 476/75 BCE (the foundation of Aitna) and Hieron's death in 467.

57. For fr. 105a as the opening lines of the hyporcheme see Schol. P.2.127 (2:52 Drachmann); for Aristophanes's parody see *Birds* 926–27, 941–45 with scholia ad locc.

58. For Hieron's hero-cult aspirations in Aitna see Diodorus Siculus 11.49, 76.3, with discussion by Malkin 1987: 96–97; Dougherty 1993: 85–98; Luraghi 1994: 340–41; Currie 2005: 7, 193, 346, 410; Bonanno 2010: 132–34; K. A. Morgan 2015: 84–85. Dougherty (1993: 97) connects this fragment specifically with Hieron's prospective hero cult in Aitna, while Luraghi (2011: 39–41) and K. A. Morgan (2015: 84, 179, 323) connect the pun with the Deinomenid priesthood of Demeter and Persephone.

59. Wilamowitz (1922: 295–96) and Gentili (1992) connect fr. 106 SM (said by Athenaeus to be "in a Pythian ode for Hieron") with this same hyporcheme. P. Wilson (2019) follows this argument and also connects fr. 114 SM. We are grateful to Peter Wilson for sharing with us his unpublished paper analyzing this hyporcheme for Hieron.

60. Dougherty 1993: 97–98, citing Hdt. 4.46, 71, 127 with Hartog 1988: 3–206. K. A. Morgan (2015: 323–24) mainly follows Dougherty's interpretation of fr. 105b, but adds also the suggestion that "these verses should be read as a commentary on migration."

61. Cf. P. Wilson 2019 for a similar reading of the community of Scythians as a positive model in fr. 105b.

62. For the force of ἀλᾶται with the genitive, cf. O.1.57-58, where Tantalos with the stone hovering over his head "wanders from sympotic festivity" (εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται).

63. Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds* 942a Holwerda.

64. For οἶκος as one *terminus technicus* for a treasury see Dyer 1905: 301, 305n28, 308–11; Roux 1984. The term is regularly used of treasury-like buildings on Delos, notably the *oikoi* of the Naxians, the Andrians, the Delians, and the Karystians (the last three of which are roughly contemporary with Olympian 6).

65. R. P. Martin (2009: 95) offers an Aristophanic reading of fr. 105b in the context of the *Birds* parody as Pindar's dropping hints to Hieron that he wants a luxury mobile home—i.e., an excellent Sicilian mule cart. Martin's demystified, Aristophanic reading of the Pindaric fragment encourages us in turn to consider the

relevance of this entire scene in the *Birds* for Olympian 6: (1) foundation of a city, with the sequence of praise poet, oracle monger, and surveyor; (2) within this general framework, note Aristophanes's substitution of the metrically identical phrase ὑφαντοδόνητον ἔσθος for ἁμαξοφόρητον οἶκον. This substitution, so witty and apposite in the context of the gift-grubbing poet in the *Birds*, also reenacts in miniature the imagistic development from the beginning of Olympian 6 ("golden columns" of a porch of song) to its end (the "golden spindle" or "distaff" of Amphitrite), showing Aristophanes to be a remarkably subtle and attentive audience for Pindaric poetry. On the symbolic, affective overlapping of the imagery of a woven garment and a house in other Aristophanic contexts, see Telò 2016: 56–87.

66. Cf. Mullen 1982: 36.

67. For the chorus as a "mobile treasury," recall Mullen 1982: 131, quoted in chapter 1 above: "Moving dancers define a path but stationary dancers define a space."

68. Kirkwood 1982: 86, citing O.3.5, Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ.

69. See Goldhill 1991: 147 with n. 254 on πρόσωπον (face for façade) as "a very rare and thus emphatic metaphor." Cf. P.6.14, where the same usage arguably also fuses in imagery the façade of a building and the face of a person (in this case, perhaps the herald announcing Thrasyboulos's chariot victory, or perhaps again the members of the chorus performing the poem).

70. For the association or identification of choreuts and architectural columns see Power 2011: 75–80 (and for the phrase "incipient chorality," p. 75). Steiner (2020) imaginatively elaborates and expands Power's insight, including discussion of the opening of Olympian 6, fr. 33d SM, and the epithet ἀδαμαντοπέδιλος (we are grateful to Deborah Steiner for sharing her unpublished work with us). Support for the idea that Pindar might have something like ἀδαμαντοπέδιλος in mind in Olympian 6 is the phrase Δάλου θεοδμάτας σκοπόν (O.6.59); cf. θεοδμάτα as a vocative address to Delos in precisely this context in Pindar's first hymn (fr. 33c, line 1).

71. Ruck (1968: 137–38) already noted that these three passages, which combine a vocative address with a command to go, belong together.

72. This effect is heightened if we accept the reconstruction of performance offered by Mullen 1982 (with strophe and antistrophe performed by the chorus in circular motion, then the epode sung by the chorus standing still). For these words (Apollo's command) end the poem's central epode, so that, on this reconstruction, the chorus is stationary, but just about to start moving again on ἵκοντο (O.6.64).

73. On the ambiguity of δεῦρο see Bonifazi 2001: 45, 125; for the phrase and concept "vicarious transport," see Felson 1999, 2004a, 2004b.

74. For this conceptualization of the chorus's different effects when performing in different locations we are much indebted to Weiss 2016.

Appendix. Dating the Porch of the Geloan Treasury at Olympia

1. That the building was originally entered on the east (the short end) is a surmise based on Greek architectural norms (K. Herrmann 1992: 31–32; Klein 2016: 130); entry from the south has also been suggested (see, e.g., Schleif and Süsserott

1944: 85; Hölscher 2001: 145n12). In what follows we will assume that the original entry was on the east, but the point is not directly relevant to our argument.

2. On the treasury terrace see Mallwitz 1972: 163–79; K. Herrmann 1976, 1992; Schilbach 1984; Baumeister 2012; Klein 2016. On treasuries in general see Rups 1986; Hölscher 2001.

3. Dörpfeld 1892a, 1892c; Mallwitz 1961, 1972: 169; Rups 1986: 30–32; Heiden 1995: 162; Klein 1998: 364–65, 2016: 128; Mertens 2006: 273–74; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 659.

4. Mallwitz 1961.

5. On the Deinomenid dedications see above, pp. 224 and 359–60n. 8. On the bell-shaped bases (five total at Delphi) and their links with Persepolis see Amandry 1987: 92–97.

6. On the helmets see above, p. 360n. 8.

7. On the Geloan treasury the basic publications are Dörpfeld 1881, 1892b; Schleif and Süsserott 1944; Mallwitz 1972: 176–78; K. Herrmann 1976: 343–48, 1992: 31–32. See also Luraghi 1994: 140–41, 182; Mertens 2006: 113; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 661. For a convenient discussion in English see Klein 2016: 130–32.

8. Paus. 6.19.15. Loeb translation, modified.

9. After the initial publications in Dörpfeld 1881 and 1892b, the essential publication for the roof is Schleif and Süsserott 1944. See also Darsow 1938: 105–6; Kästner 1976: 520–22; Wikander 1986: 19, 50 no. 80; Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990: 238–39; Klein 1998: 362–64, 2016: 130–32; Lang 2010: 67–72. The pertinence of the roof to the foundation is assured by an exact match in dimension: Dörpfeld 1881: 31–32; Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 87; Heiden 1995: 100–101.

10. Lang 2010: 67–72.

11. Darsow 1938: 105–6; Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990: 238–39; Heiden 1995: 96–102, 203–8; Mallwitz 1999: 219. Cf. Wikander 1986.

12. As noted earlier, although disputed in Schleif and Süsserot 1944: 85, the 90-degree reorientation has been reaffirmed by K. Herrmann 1992: 31–32.

13. Dörpfeld 1892b: 56.

14. K. Herrmann 1976: 343–48; see also K. Herrmann 1992: 31–32.

15. K. Herrmann 1976: 346, 348.

16. K. Herrmann 1976.

17. Mallwitz 1999: 219.

18. Accepting the high date are Klein 1998: 362n89; Mallwitz 1999: 214; Baumeister 2012: 86. In his 1995 book on the Olympia *Tondächer*, Joachim Heiden gave a date of ca. 500 BCE for the Geloan porch; in 1999 Alfred Mallwitz raised the date to ca. 510 (Heiden 1995: 27–29 cat. no. 6; Mallwitz 1999: 214; cf. Mertens-Horn and Viola 1990: 240). But these dates should not inspire confidence. Both Heiden and Mallwitz dated the porch on the basis of its terracotta roof. This procedure makes sense in the case of Phase I, the cella, for the roof fragments were found in close physical proximity to the foundations of the treasury itself and conform to their dimensions exactly (Dörpfeld 1881: 31–32; Schleif and Süsserott

1944: 87; Heiden 1995: 100–101). But the association of *any* extant roofing fragments with the porch (Phase II) is hypothetical. Both Heiden and Mallwitz adopted the same method. Each scoured the storerooms for what he considered a plausible candidate for the roof of the porch; each located the requisite fragments, dated them by style, and then, on that basis, dated the porch as well. This reasoning is viciously circular, and in fact Heiden and Mallwitz adduced *different* sets of roofing fragments to obtain their dates.

19. Dyer 1905: 298.

20. Herrmann, unfortunately, does not address this issue. Regarding siting, he observes that Foundation XI (Megara) is not equidistant between Foundations X (Metaponto) and XII (Gela), but displaced slightly to the west. He suggests that this displacement indicates that the Megarians wanted to avoid being obscured by the Geloan porch ("Sollte er nicht allzusehr von der Vorhalle, die bereits um zwei joche über die allgemeine Bauflucht herausragte, verdeckt werden, mußte man ihn möglichst weit nach Westen rücken," K. Herrmann 1976: 348), which, he argues, helps to prove an early date for the porch. The reasoning is hard to follow, and in any case the best way to avoid being obscured by the Geloan porch would have been to advance southward as well.

21. Koenigs 1981; Mallwitz 1988; Schilbach 1992. Whether this remodeling coincides with Stadium II or Stadium III is for present purposes immaterial. According to Koenig 1981: 366, the *terminus post quem* for Stadium II is ca. 480-470 BCE; according to Mallwitz and Schilbach, Stadium II dates to the late sixth century, and Stadium III belongs to a remodeling of the Altis that began in the 470s BCE.

22. Nancy Klein emphasizes the Sicilian/West Greek nature of the Phase I revetments (Klein 1998: 364, 2016: 130).

23. K. Herrmann 1976: 348: "Die Hohe von 4,2 unteren Durchmessern entspricht eher dem Apollon-Tempel in Korinth (4,2/ 4,4 UD) oder dem Olympieion in Syrakus (4,3 UD) als dem Megarer Schatzhaus (4,9 UD) oder gar dem der Sikyonier (5,1 UD)." Herrmann includes the capital in the height of the column. One might compare the way the treasury of Cyrene at Delphi incorporates distinctive features of Cyrenaean Doric; see R. Tomlinson 2006: 98–99.

24. In other words, the Geloan porch is about as similar to the temple of Athena at Syracuse as Herrmann's two comparanda—the Megarian and Sikyonian treasuries—are to each other. Unfortunately, we do not know the height of the columns for the "victory temple" at Himera or the Syracusan treasury at Olympia. On the temple at Paestum see Wescoat 2012, table 16b.

25. Wescoat 2012, table 16a (HCol/HEnt = 2.129).

26. Cf. Dörpfeld 1881: 34: "noch unter dem Geison des Hauptbaues Platz fand." See also Schleif and Süsserot 1944: 84: "die Terrakottaverkleidung lief also unangetastet über dem Vorhallendach entlang." Dörpfeld insisted, rightly, that this point holds regardless of whether the porch was gabled or not: "Ob hierbei die Vorhalle nach Süden einen Giebel gehabt hat oder nicht, ist ziemlich irrelevant" (34). The point was subsequently confirmed on the revetments themselves; see Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 84, confirming the pediment and its pitch.

27. These figures are approximate. We have based them on the following calculations:

HEIGHT OF THE DORIC FRIEZE: H. of columns: 4.01 m (K. Herrmann 1976: 344). H. of architrave: 0.88 m (K. Herrmann 1976: 345). H. of triglyphs: 0.75 m (K. Herrmann 1976: 346). Total H. of frieze: 4.01 + 0.88 + 0.75 = 5.64 m.

DIMENSIONS OF THE PORCH PEDIMENT: We have assumed that the porch entablature was flush with the wall of the old cella. W. of old cella at geison level: 12.80 m (Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 87, noting significant incline of walls). Projection of geison on either side: 0.340 m. (Curtius and Adler 1892, plate 40). Total W. of pediment: 12.80 + (2 × 0.34) = 13.48 m. H. of pediment at 1:6 pitch: (13.48/2)/6 = 1.12 m. Note that this figure is very approximate. The actual grade may not have been exactly 1:6, and any crowning molding or sima on the pediment would have affected both its de facto width and its apparent height.

TOTAL HEIGHT OF THE PORCH: Total H. of entablature (architrave + frieze + geison): 1.91 m (= 2.1 times the height of the columns, per K. Herrmann 1976: 348). H. of columns + H. of entablature: 4.01 + 1.91 = 5.92 m. H. of columns + H. of entablature + H. of pediment: 4.01 + 1.91 + 1.12 = 7.04 m. Note that this figure takes no account of the roofing, which will have added to the total height.

HEIGHT OF THE ARCHAIC SIMA: Distance between apex of porch pediment and lower edge of flank geison revetment: 0.03 m (Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 84). H. of flank geison revetment: 0.25 m (Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 88 fig. 23). H. of flank sima: 0.28 m (Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 88 fig. 23). H. of side (including sima): 7.04 + 0.03 + 0.25 + 0.28 = 7.6 m. Note that the cutting on the cella geison, 0.03 m below the lower edge of the flank revetment, will have accommodated the porch's roof tiles, and not the roof bed alone. Therefore, as noted above, the figure 7.04 m for the total height of the porch is slightly too low. Again, these figures are approximate.

28. On the Phase II pediment (1:6) see Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 84; Heiden 1995: 29. On that of Phase I (1:3.5) see Schleif and Süsserott 1944: 87–88.

29. For example, if one were to increase the angle sufficiently to lower the entablature by 0.3 m, the result would be 4.5 m^2 of exposed wall instead of 3.5 m^2.

30. K. Herrmann 1976: 346.

31. Dörpfeld 1892b, plate 40. The basis of Dörpfeld's precise figure is unclear, as the stylobate is not preserved; it is presumably inferred from preserved elements of the architrave. The presence of angle contraction is assured, however, by the uniformity of the triglyph-metope frieze up to and including the corner triglyphs (discovered in 1972; see K. Herrmann 1976: 345). Since the triglyphion was uniform, angle contraction *must* have been present in order to solve the "corner problem." Further evidence, if such were needed, is the decision to employ half-columns and half-triglyphs where the colonnade meets the cella ("unkünstlerischer," in Dörpfeld's opinion). The expected West Greek solution would have been to widen the metope by the width of one half-triglyph and omit the half-column, but this was not done (cf. K. Herrmann 1976: 346).

32. Coulton 1977: 62. Archaic Sicilian temples had kept the intercolumnations fixed, and adjusted the width of the metopes instead. See previous note.

33. Herrmann's discussion of the capitals is extremely summary, comparing the porch capitals only to those on his two comparanda (the Megarian and Sikyonian treasuries), while citing no measurements: K. Herrmann 1976: 348.

34. Coulton 1979: 104 no. 4.13. For Group 4/5 as "early classical" see Coulton 1979: 103.

35. The temple at Himera is almost certainly one of the pair; the other may have been at Carthage, in which case the temple of Athena at Syracuse would be Gelon's own intervention; that it is contemporary with the temple at Himera is not seriously in doubt (see Asheri 1988: 774–75; rather more plausibly, Luraghi 1994: 313–14, 318–20). On the temple of Athena at Syracuse see Mertens 1984: 68–78, 2006: 268–73, 315; Veronese 2006: 307–8; Sgariglia 2009. Although we are skeptical of a recent proposal to downdate the temple to the late 470s BCE, it would, if accepted, only strengthen the case presented here (Adornato 2006, arguing that it commemorates Hieron's victory at Cumae). On the "victory temple" at Himera see P. Marconi 1931; Bonacasa 1970, 1982a, 1982b, 2005; Mertens 1984: 65–68, 2006: 266–68; Consoli 2008.

36. On Temple C at Gela see Koldewey and Puchstein 1899: 136–37; Orsi 1907; Bernabò Brea 1952; Heiden 1998; Mertens 2006: 274–75; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 813–14. For the suggestion that Temple C also commemorates Himera see T. van Compernolle 1989: 68–69, 1992: 49–58; Luraghi 1994: 181–82.

37. A single capital survives, for which two sets of measurements have been published, one by Robert Koldewey and Otto Puchstein in 1899, another by Paolo Orsi in 1906. They are in substantial agreement on the height of the echinus and the lower diameter, but differ significantly on the width of the abacus (Koldewey and Puchstein give 2.13 m for the abacus, while Orsi gives 2.05 m). In general, Orsi's measurement seems more plausible, as Koldewey and Puchstein indicate an extremely broad abacus wholly out of keeping with the rest of the architecture and indeed with their own contention that the capital came from the period of "developed Doricism" ("*entwickelten Dorismus*," Koldewey and Puchstein 1899: 110). As detailed below, we follow Orsi in cases where the measurements disagree, but have recourse to Koldewey and Puchstein for details in cases where they seem to be in broad agreement with Orsi.

38. Coulton 1979: 85. The projection of a capital is one-half the difference between the upper diameter of the column and the width of its abacus.

39. See Coulton 1979: 137 fig. 22f, nos. 4.13 (Geloan porch), 4.32 (Syracusan treasury), and 5.01 (temple of Athena).

40. Coulton 1979: 139 fig. 24f.

41. There is slight disagreement in particulars between the ratios in table A.1 and those in Coulton 1979. Coulton does not provide exact figures, only ranges. Moreover, he provides neither the precise measurements from which he calculated his ratios nor the published sources on which he based them, and it is impossible to discriminate between instances in which he used his own measurements and those in which he used those of others. The discrepancies do not substantially affect the argument presented here.

For Temple C at Gela, Orsi (1906: 551) lists a capital projection of 0.385 m and an echinus height of 0.60 m. Both figures require some commentary. Regarding the capital projection, Orsi states that the upper diameter of the column is 1.32 m, the width of the abacus 2.05 m. Since the projection of any capital is, by definition, one-half the difference between the width of the abacus and the upper diameter, the correct figure for Gela should be 0.365 m. Although the difference is only 2 cm, it does affect the ratios.

How to explain the discrepancy? Regarding Orsi's figure for the height of the echinus (0.60 m), it is apparent from his drawing (Orsi 1906: 552 fig. 378) that this measurement included the annulets and, indeed, everything from the lower edge of the abacus to the bottom of the capital block. Koldewey and Puchstein gave a nearly identical figure for this same span (0.61 m), but they also provided the combined height of the echinus and annulets alone (0.46 m). Given that Koldewey and Puchstein agree with Orsi about the first figure, it seems reasonable to follow them on this latter point as well, and to set the combined height of echinus and annulets at 0.46 m. Doing so yields the following: HEch + HAnn = 0.46 m; WAb = 2.05 m; UD = 1.32 m; PCap = 0.365 m; HEch. + HAnn /PCap = 1.26 (for abbreviations see table, p. 293). This ratio is comparable to that found on the columns of the pteron and pronaos of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and slightly greater than that found on the temple of Athena at Syracuse (Coulton 1979: 139 fig. 24f). It is consistent, therefore, with a date of ca. 470 BCE—which, happily, Joachim Heiden has proposed for some recently discovered fragments of the entablature and akroterion of Temple C (Heiden 1998).

42. Wescoat 2012, tables 17a and 17b. We have rounded Wescoat's numbers to the hundredth decimal.

43. Wescoat 2012, tables 17a and 17b. Again, we have rounded Wescoat's numbers to the hundredth decimal.

44. Heiden 1995: 27–29 cat. no. 6.

45. Heiden 1995: 29.

46. Mallwitz 1999: 214–15n153, 219.

47. Koenigs 1981.

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